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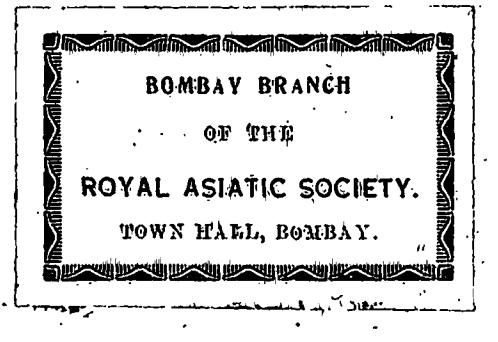

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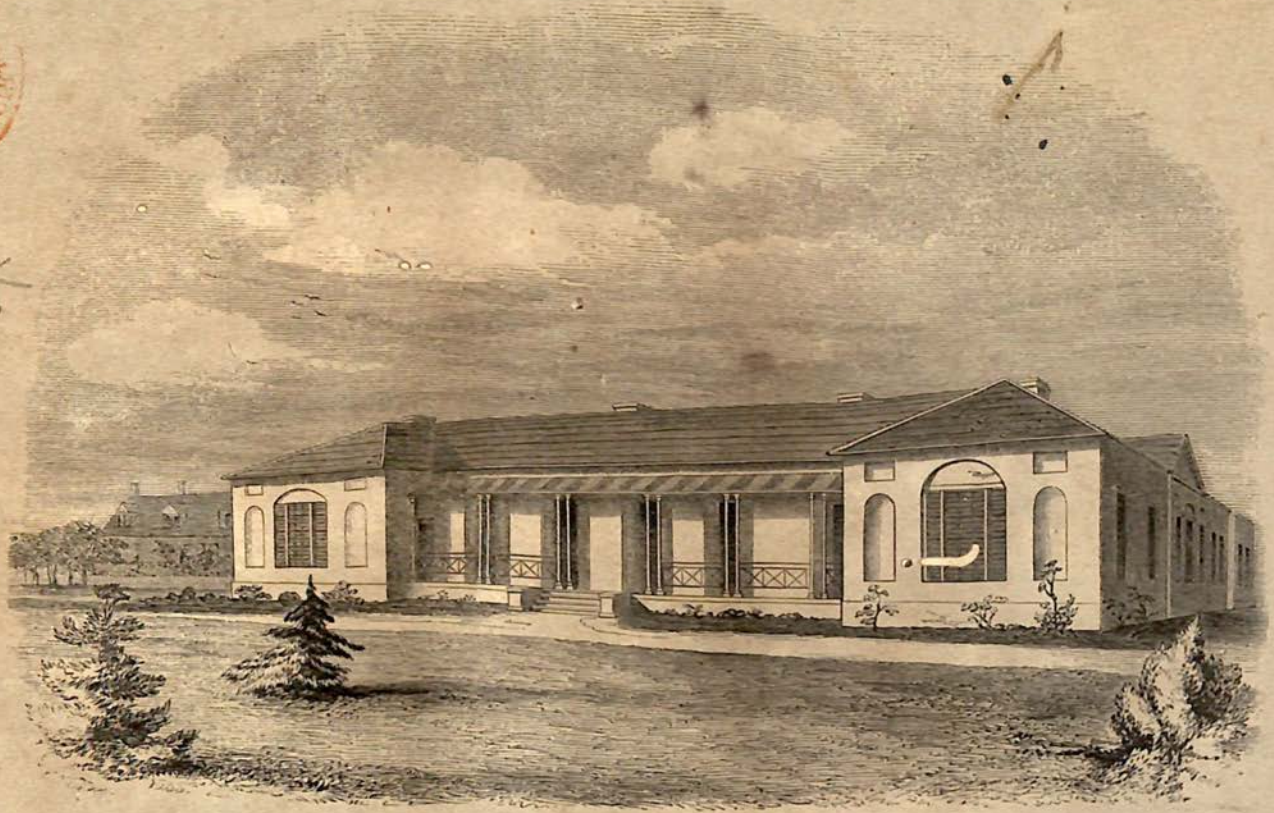


Residence erected at Longwood by the British Government for Napoleon Bonaparte, and finished shortly before his death.

Frontispiece to Vol. III.

HISTORY

OF

THE CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA;

14.528
a.c

FROM THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF THE LATE

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HUDSON LOWE,

AND

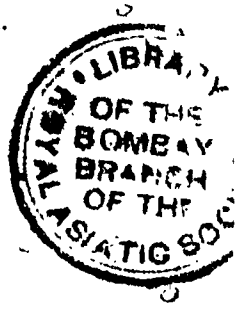
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS NOT BEFORE MADE PUBLIC.

By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF 'HORTENSIUS' AND 'HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY.'
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN THREE VOLUMES—Vol. III.

With Portrait and Map.



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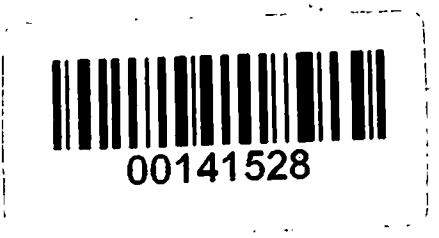

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ERRATA—VOL. I.

Page 69, line 2, *for* sailor *read* soldier.
,, 105, ,, 11, *for* Finland *read* Friedland.
,, 107, ,, 22, *for* quarter-general *read* head-quarters.
,, 347, ,, 20, *for* Bautgen *read* Bautzen.

Note.—At page 96 of vol. i. it is stated that the Maltese regiment at Capri behaved with pusillanimity, and were taken prisoners; but it ought to have been added, that Major Hammill, who commanded that regiment, refused to deliver up his sword to the enemy, and was killed, preferring death to dishonour.

HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER XIX.

COMPLAINTS AT LONGWOOD AGAINST THE PURVEYOR — COMMAND OF FUNDS BY NAPOLEON — CONSIDERATE CONDUCT OF LORD BATHURST — CHANGE IN THE PURVEYORSHIP — O'MEARA AND THE AFFAIR OF THE SNUFF-BOX — HE IS SUBJECTED TO THE SAME RESTRICTIONS AS THE FRENCH AT LONGWOOD — SECOND "APOSTILLE" WRITTEN BY BONAPARTE — O'MEARA'S MISSTATEMENTS.

EARLY in March this year Major Gorrequer had some long conversations with Count Montholon on the subject of the expenses of the table at Longwood, and found him reasonable and accommodating. He blamed Cipriani for having been rather extravagant in the wine, and said that the Emperor had desired them all, not only to observe the strictest economy, but to do with the smallest quantity possible of necessaries, and had observed to him that, because they thought proper to keep separate tables, that was no reason why they should burthen the British Government with a greater expense. Major Gorrequer remarked that it was and always would be the Governor's wish that their wants should be amply supplied in every respect; all that he desired was to avoid waste: upon which Montholon acknowledged the care the Governor had taken that they should be well provided.

In the course of the same conversation the Count said that the oil, Cape butter, lard, cheese, hams, vinegar, rice, and flour were frequently so much damaged they could not make use of them, but gave them to the servants; eggs also were frequently rotten. He then pointed out among the articles charged in the bills a quantity which they had been obliged to buy in consequence of the bad quality of those sent by the purveyors, and these came to a high amount. He observed that if they were furnished with all the articles of a good quality they would now have little to buy; and he more than once assured Major Gorrequer that it was not his intention to cast any reproaches or to find fault with anything; they knew the difficulty which existed in procuring things of a good quality, and they were all aware it was not the Governor's fault if they did not get them good.

In a despatch from the Governor to Earl Bathurst, dated the 31st of March, 1818, he said that O'Meara had been repeating in public, and enforcing himself, the remarks made by Count Bertrand in disparagement of General Gourgaud, and that the two points on which unfavourable observations were made were the pension alleged to have been granted to General Gourgaud, and his demand for money from Napoleon Bonaparte, after having before refused to accept it. Sir Hudson Lowe said, "General Gourgaud himself can best explain the affair of the pension;[1] but, with respect to the demand for money, it is right to observe, none was made by General Gourgaud to Napoleon Bonaparte; for the sum forwarded since his departure was obtained from Count Bertrand upon an application from Mr. Cole in the name of the pur-

[1] See vol. ii. p. 255.

veyor, in order to enable him to execute an order before given, and was not applied for by General Gourgaud himself." Sir Hudson added,—"Subsequently to being made acquainted Mr. O'Meara had held the conversations above referred to, I interrogated him as to the line of conduct which had been observed by General Gourgaud during the whole time he had been at Longwood, and was told, as will appear by an accompanying memorandum of a conversation with him, he had not, to Mr. O'Meara's knowledge, committed any act of impropriety, been guilty of any breach of regulation, or done anything whatever to draw forth an injurious comment upon him; so that it is only in consequence of and since his rupture with the persons at Longwood these reflections have been endeavoured to be cast upon him, in precise conformity to the obvious views and designs which General Gourgaud anticipated on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the persons acting under his influence at Longwood, when he separated from them."

About this time Count Bertrand wrote to Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, and informed him of Cipriani's death. He said that the Emperor's health was very unsatisfactory, and mentioned that a child of one of Count Montholon's servants, and also a *femme-de-chambre*, had recently died of the same complaint as Cipriani, which he attributed to the evil effect of the climate at St. Helena, "where," he said, "very few men grow old." He requested that a minister of religion might be sent out to them,[1] and also another

[1] See a translation of this letter printed in O'Meara's 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 478. Speaking of Cipriani's death and the absence of a Roman Catholic priest, Bertrand said in this letter, "il a paru ne pas se soucier d'un ministre d'une autre religion;" upon which passage Sir Hudson Lowe, writing to Lord Bathurst, remarked, "It is only for the sake of truth I

maître-d'hôtel and a cook. In consequence of this letter the Governor interrogated O'Meara, who said that if he were called upon to give an opinion as to the nature of the malady with which Napoleon was affected, he would call it an *incipient* hepatitis. Adverting to Bertrand's letter, Sir Hudson Lowe, when he wrote to Lord Bathurst, said that he should prefer having foreign domestics, of good character, and unacquainted with the English language, at Longwood, so long as Bertrand and Montholon, with their families, remained near Bonaparte, rather than English servants, not subject to the rules of military discipline or the same regulations as the French persons then there were under. He added,—"These opinions are solely the result of the inconvenience I have experienced from Mr. O'Meara's line of proceeding; conceiving the attendance near the person of Napoleon Bonaparte of a man of his doubtful character a greater evil than that of any foreigner whatever, on the ground that a person suspected or capable of acting a treacherous part is more dangerous than a declared enemy, and that more is to be apprehended from the effects of conversation and example among those around."

That the English Government, or rather Lord Bathurst and Mr. Goulburn, were not wanting in attention and delicacy towards the exiles at Longwood, whenever they could so act consistently with their duty, must have been already apparent. And in this spirit were written by Mr. Goulburn some private letters to Sir Hudson Lowe, which he received at the end of this month, two of which are here given at length:—

---

feel it necessary to mention that the person in question was noted for his infidelity, and manifested no change in these sentiments to the last; expressions of impiety and blasphemy were familiar to him."

"(Private.)

"My dear Sir, "Downing Street, Nov. 4, 1817.

"I enclose you two letters from the father of General Bertrand to his son. The one enclosed in the letter to you announces the death of Madame Dillon, the mother of Madame Bertrand. I know that you will be desirous to do all in your power to prevent any aggravation of the distress which this event will occasion in the family of General Bertrand, and I am sure therefore that it will be a relief to you to know that Lord Bathurst entirely approves of your exercising your own discretion as to forbearing to act upon the instructions with reference to General Bertrand which are conveyed to you by the present opportunity. I have the honour to be, &c.

"HENRY GOULBURN.

"P.S. Among the letters for General Buonaparte sent by the present conveyance is one from Cardinal Fesch, offering him money. Lord Bathurst is not aware of any objection to his receiving the money, drawing for it under the established regulations.

"H. G."

"(Private.)

"My dear Sir,

"I send you by the present opportunity a number of French publications, which I have just received from Paris. They were ordered as part of those which it was Lord Bathurst's intention to provide for General Bertrand, but as, on looking them over, it appears to me that some of them are of a nature to give offence to General Buonaparte, and that he may construe sending them to Longwood as intended to insult him, I have to request that you would in the

first instance look them over, and use your own discretion as to sending or retaining them. I would not have imposed this task upon you had the time between their arrival and the despatch of the ship for St. Helena admitted of my doing it myself.

"I will take care that you shall receive by the next the books which you requested me to procure from the French booksellers in Marlborough Street. I ought to add that I should be obliged to you to send me a list of the books which you may ultimately send to General Bertrand, in order that a memorandum may be kept of their value. Yours, &c.

"HENRY GOULBURN.

"Downing Street, Nov. 17, 1817."

In another letter Mr. Goulburn said, "I send at Lord Bathurst's directions a file of the 'Morning Chronicle,' in order that you may send it to Longwood for the information and amusement of the residents there."

At the same time that General Gourgaud left St. Helena, Mr. Balcombe, who had been the purveyor for the establishment at Longwood ever since the arrival of the French, sailed for England. Although Sir Hudson Lowe had no tangible cause of complaint against him, he was not without strong suspicion that his relations with Longwood were not limited to the ostensible duties of his office, and the sequel showed that this idea was by no means at variance with the fact. His close intimacy with O'Meara, with whose conduct the Governor was becoming daily more dissatisfied, of itself justified some jealousy of his actions. When, therefore, he quitted the island, Sir Hudson determined not to continue the purveyorship in the hands of his firm, but appointed Mr. Ibbetson to act in his stead. And in order that some vouchers

might be forthcoming to show the expenditure, and he might be able to give to his Government an accurate account of the sums actually spent upon the maintenance of the French at Longwood, he proposed that in future, instead of a certain amount of cash being placed in their hands monthly for disbursement, the payments that were required should be made by cheques or "*bons*" drawn on Mr. Ibbetson. This irritated Bonaparte extremely, and Count Bertrand declared that the Emperor said that, rather than submit to such a change, he would receive nothing, and would prefer wearing his shirt as long as it would last without washing (*il aimera mieux porter sa chemise tant qu'elle durera, sans blanchissage*). All these details were gone into at great length in some conversations between Major Gorrequer and Bertrand, with which we shall not weary the reader, for nothing can be more uninteresting than the minutiæ of petty household details, and they are only alluded to here for the sake of mentioning a remark of Bertrand's when he ridiculed the notion of any improper use being made by Bonaparte of any money which might come into his hands for the expenses of the table. "The Emperor," he exclaimed, "has only to speak to have millions. He has only to give a bit of paper of the size of this," showing a scrap of paper of the size of an inch, "which would be worth a million." If this assertion on the part of Bertrand was true, we require no stronger proof of the necessity there existed for not allowing sealed communications to pass between Longwood and Europe.

But we now turn to a matter of more importance, and have to mention an instance of O'Meara's misconduct, which, coming to Sir Hudson Lowe's knowledge, induced him to adopt towards the offender the

strongest measure in his power, short of placing him under arrest, or sending him off the island. For obvious reasons, there was no act more strictly forbidden than the giving or receiving presents from Napoleon without the Governor's permission. In defiance of this well-known rule, O'Meara informed the Rev. Mr. Vernon and the Rev. Mr. Boys, two clergymen at St. Helena, that Bonaparte intended to give each of them a snuff-box, in acknowledgment of their services to Cipriani. Mr. Boys was then about to proceed to England, and on the 2nd of April, the day before he embarked, O'Meara brought him a silver snuff-box from Napoleon, which Mr. Boys at first accepted, but, being convinced by Mr. Vernon of the impropriety of the act, he caused it to be returned to O'Meara after he had sailed, accompanied by a note, in which he said that he should be very happy to have it transmitted to him through the proper channel.

In consequence of this direct violation of the rules, the Governor determined to subject O'Meara to the same restrictions as were imposed upon the French, and on the 10th of April Sir Thomas Reade wrote to him and informed him that, except in the event of anything extraordinary occurring, which he might feel it his duty to report immediately in person to the Governor, or in case of being summoned to give medical aid where other medical attendance could not be procured, he was not to quit Longwood without permission of the Governor. In his 'Voice' O'Meara says that in this letter[1] no reasons were assigned for the order, and he tries to make it appear that it was

[1] This letter was inserted in the 'Morning Chronicle' after O'Meara's letter to Sir Hudson Lowe of the 23rd of December, 1817, as if it were the answer to it, instead of the actual reply to that letter, which was dated the 19th of January, 1818. See the Letters and Documents at the end of the second volume, No. 114.

an expedient of the Governor to induce him if possible to disobey the commands of the latter, and thus afford a pretext for removing him from St. Helena. It is quite true that the letter contains no allusion to the present of the snuff-box, nor can I explain the reason. Probably Sir Hudson thought that O'Meara must be sufficiently conscious of his own improper act, and did not require to be told *why* he was thus openly mistrusted.

Before replying to Sir Thomas Reade's letter, O'Meara wrote to Count Bertrand, and informed him that, as it was impossible for him to sacrifice his character and his rights as a British subject to the desire he had of being of service to "the chief personage at Longwood," he had formed the resolution to quit the island. He then despatched a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, in which he tendered his resignation, and demanded permission to return to England. Although the order against his quitting Longwood without leave was positive, he immediately disobeyed it by going to the Briars, where Admiral Plampin was residing, for the purpose of having an interview with him; but the Admiral desired his secretary to acquaint him that he could not sanction his disobedience by receiving him; but that, if he had any communication to make, he must write and obtain his (the Admiral's) direction to wait upon him. O'Meara's answer to this was, that he considered himself a naval officer, and not amenable to the orders of the Governor, much less obliged to obey an illegal one.

On the same day Bertrand sent for Major Gorrequer, and in the course of conversation bitterly complained of the act of Sir Hudson Lowe. He said that in driving away the physician of the Emperor might be recognised the design which the Governor had

long manifested of assassinating him. On hearing these words Major Gorrequer rose from his seat, saying that he could not tolerate such language; and Bertrand added, "At all events you will repeat to the Governor what I have just said:" on which the Major at once withdrew. Count Bertrand then addressed a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, in which he made the same insinuation; and on the 21st the latter replied with calmness and dignity, saying that O'Meara had tendered his resignation, and if his removal had not already taken place it had been solely out of consideration for the arguments employed by Bertrand, and owing to the difficulty of supplying his place by any other person on the island not objectionable to Napoleon himself.

With reference to the question of providing another medical attendant for Napoleon, it is right here to mention that some time previous to this Count Bertrand informed Mr. Baxter that Bonaparte had formed a favourable opinion of him, and said he was an honourable and enlightened man, and that there was no one there in whom he should have more confidence, but that he would not then see him, as he was certain that bulletins of his health would be shown to the Governor, to which he was averse. There is no doubt, however, that afterwards he took a dislike to Mr. Baxter, simply because he was the medical officer recommended and confided in by the Governor.

On the 27th Bertrand transmitted to Sir Hudson Lowe another "apostille," written by Napoleon, which the latter called upon him to forward to the Prince Regent, using the expression, "If he does not do so I leave the opprobrium of my death as a legacy to the reigning House of England (je lègue l'opprobre de ma mort à la maison regnante d'Angleterre)." It is need-

less to give the contents of this document, or Sir Hudson Lowe's remarks upon it, for it would be only going over the same ground of complaint and justification which we have already so often travelled. It will be sufficient to say that in it Napoleon called the Governor his assassin (*mon assassin*), and desired that what he then wrote might be communicated to the Prince Regent, in order that public punishment might fall on Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Governor formally accepted O'Meara's resignation, and informed him through Sir Thomas Reade that if Bonaparte was willing to receive advice from any other medical person in the island he would consent to his (O'Meara's) quitting Longwood immediately, but if Bonaparte refused to consent to this he said it would be proper that O'Meara should remain in his present situation until his resignation had been received in England, or some arrangement could be made for supplying his place. At the same time Sir Hudson Lowe instructed Sir Thomas Reade to write to Bertrand, and acquaint him again officially (as had become necessary in consequence of his pertinacious violation of the rule) that he would not thenceforward receive any letter or communication whatever from any person in attendance upon Bonaparte where the title of "Emperor" should be given to him, and that if any such letter or communication were sent it would be returned, in conformity with Lord Bathurst's instructions.

It would uselessly weary the reader to give the tedious correspondence that ensued between O'Meara and the Governor this month, in which, however, it is very remarkable that no allusion whatever is made on either side to the affair of the snuff-box, about which Sir Hudson Lowe wrote fully to Lord Bathurst on

the 9th of April. And in another letter on the 19th he said, speaking of Bonaparte, "The mortification has been the greater because neither he nor Mr. O'Meara himself can controvert the fact of the *present*, though they are both ready to defend it, on the ground of the Act of Parliament not granting any authority to prevent it."[1]

In one of O'Meara's letters, however, addressed at this period to Major Gorrequer, he relates a conversation which he had with Napoleon, and which is interesting enough to quote. He says,[2] "I asked him how his health was, and, according to my general custom, attempted to take his arm in order to feel his pulse. He, however, drew back his hand, and, without answering my question, said, 'Well, Doctor, you are going to quit us. The world will scarcely believe that *la lâcheté d'attenter* at my physician has been put in practice. You have no longer the independence necessary to render your services useful to me. Quit this abode of darkness and crime as soon as you can. I will expire upon a *grabat*, gnawed by disease and without any assistance.' He then took me by the hand, which he squeezed, and appeared to experience some emotion. I took advantage of this in order to again ask him about the state of his health; but he replied by sending me away, saying, 'Farewell for ever, Doctor!' Since that time he has not again sent for me, and I have not spoken to him."

The first intimation of the charge respecting the snuff-box seems to have been conveyed to O'Meara in a letter from Colonel Wynyard on the 3rd of May, written by the command of the Governor, in which

[1] Sir Hudson Lowe means that the Act gave the Governor no authority to prevent presents being made.

[2] See 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 399.

he spoke of him as having rendered himself "a channel for presents, and the bearer of private and unauthorised communications in regard to them."

To this letter O'Meara replied on the 14th, and gave *his* version of the story of the snuff-box. It is well worthy of our attention as an instance of the deliberate falsehoods to which the writer did not scruple to resort when he saw no other mode of justifying his conduct. Happily in this case detection and confutation both followed close at hand, and his exposure may be of use in diminishing the credit that has been given to some of his other statements not so capable of direct and positive disproof. He said, "You assert that I have served as a distributor of presents. If you allude to what took place with the Reverend Mr. Boys as having given umbrage to the Governor, why has it not been communicated to me until the 3rd of May, twenty-three days after the order of the 10th of April?[1] Mr. Cipriani, *maître-d'hôtel*, died on the 27th of February last. The Reverend Messrs. Boys and Vernon attended his funeral, and, although he died in the Roman Catholic persuasion, buried his corpse in consecrated ground, and read the funeral service over it according to the rites of the Protestant Church. This conduct appeared liberal and noble; and General Montholon asked Mr. Boys in what manner he could manifest to the clergymen the satisfaction which their conduct had given; to which a reply was made refusing any retribution [recompence?] for them, and observing that a donation for the poor would be acceptable. This decided General Montholon to give

[1] There certainly seems to be some reasonableness in this complaint of O'Meara. Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst on the 19*th of April*, and said that neither Bonaparte nor O'Meara could controvert the fact of the present of the snuff-box, though they were both ready to defend it. But it does not appear that O'Meara had at that time been taxed with the offence, or that Bonaparte knew the cause of his disgrace.

to each of these gentlemen a Chinese snuff-box of trifling value, and 25*l.* for the poor. *Some days after, Mr. Boys, having breakfasted with General Montholon, received* 25*l. and the box;* and a few days subsequent, departing for England, he sent the box to me, asking me to beg of General Montholon to send it to him through the channel of the Governor, in order that he might be able, without any scruple, to show it in England. When I received the letter and the box Mr. Boys was gone, which obliged me to return the box on the spot to General Montholon, to whom I made known Mr. Boys's desires. This, Sir, is the history of my conduct;—and I have reason to believe that the 25*l.* was deposited in the hands of Mr. Boys for the use of the poor. There is no man whose actions, even praiseworthy, are not liable to be denigrated and perverted by the breath of calumny, which, however, is easily confounded amongst just and sagacious persons."

Here then we find O'Meara asserting that Mr. Boys received the snuff-box at the breakfast-table direct *from Count Montholon*, and that all he himself had to do with the matter was that he innocently received it with the accompanying note from Mr. Boys, and returned it as requested to the Count. Now let the reader contrast this statement with the account of the transaction given by the Rev. Mr. Vernon, every particular of which is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Boys. The former made a deposition on oath, on the 28th of April, relative to the facts of the case, and declared that the snuff-box was given by O'Meara, as has been already related: and, subsequently, on the 19th of May, in answer to further inquiries, he wrote the subjoined letter to the Military Secretary. No contradiction can be more complete, and no conduct

could be more mean and miserable than the attempt of O'Meara to shift the blame from himself, and induce Mr. Vernon to be his accomplice in a falsehood.

The letter was as follows :—

"Sir,

"Having been desired by the Governor to give him the copy of the letter addressed by Mr. Boys to Mr. O'Meara,[1] which he (Mr. Boys) had left on the morning of his departure for England, I proceeded with the said copy in my pocket to James Town. Before an opportunity occurred, however, of giving the paper to the Governor, I was accosted by Mr. O'Meara. After the usual salutations I asked him if the Governor had said anything to him concerning the snuff-box which he had given to Mr. Boys? He answered, 'No; does he know it?' I replied in the affirmative, adding that I had been interrogated by the Governor and had related all that I knew of the transaction. Moreover, I told him (Mr. O'Meara) that a copy of Mr. Boys's letter to him had been left with me; whereupon he said, 'Do not let the Governor know that.' I replied, that the Governor was aware of it, and had desired to see it; that I had it then in my

[1] The letter was as follows :—

"Mr. O'MEARA, Longwood.

"My dear Sir,

"I find by a reference to the laws that I may subject myself to very heavy penalties and troubles by receiving through your hands alone the box so handsomely presented, and which on all accounts I should most highly value. I have therefore deemed it prudent and safe, both on your account and my own, to request you will take charge of it through L. Solomon [the shopkeeper from whom it was originally bought], in whose care I leave it, and endeavour to secure it to me by sending it with Mr. Vernon's through the *unobjectionable* channel. I have not the slightest doubt of the entire concurrence of Sir H., nor that you will endeavour to accomplish the cordial wishes of

"Yours very faithfully,

"R. BOYS."

pocket, having brought it for the purpose of giving it to the Governor as I had promised. Mr. O'Meara exclaimed, 'Boys could not have taken a more effectual method to ruin me.' He (Mr. O'Meara) also said, 'You have no idea what serious consequences may result from this: I am not a man likely to be frightened at trifles neither.'

"I expressed my regret that I should be at all concerned in an affair which threatened to bring him into so serious a scrape. 'If so,' said he, 'give me that paper,' pointing to the copy of Mr. Boys's letter to him which I held in my hand; and remarking the expression contained in it, 'by receiving through your hands alone,' observed that those words completely implicated him. I answered, 'I cannot give you the paper, having passed my word to Sir H. Lowe that I would bring it to him: however,' I continued, 'if you can point out any line of conduct consistent with my duty which may be of service to you, I shall be happy to follow it.' 'No,' said he, 'you can do no good unless by giving me that letter.' I replied, that I could not see how that would serve him, having already told the Governor the contents of it. He continued, 'Never mind that; I do not care for what is *said*, but what is *written* remains against me. If you give me that letter I will destroy it before your face.' I answered, 'What could I then say to the Governor?' 'Why,' said he, 'tell him that it has been destroyed.' I replied, 'That would be a lie, and I cannot tell a lie.' 'No,' said he, 'it would not; you shall see me do it before your face.' I argued that it would be a gross prevarication, that my honour was concerned, and that I could not do it. I also added that I could not understand how the destruction of the paper in question would clear him from the charge of having been the bearer

of the snuff-box to Mr. Boys; asking at the same time what he (Mr. O'Meara) would do if it were destroyed. He replied, he would then assert that he had nothing to do in the business, that Mr. Boys had received the box from General Montholon, and, being afraid to retain it, had returned it through his (Mr. O'Meara's) hands, as the only means of getting it back to Longwood.

"In the course of the conversation Mr. O'Meara repeatedly expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Boys's conduct in having returned the box, adding, that he (Mr. Boys) had expressed himself in his letter as if the matter was the most heinous crime possible,—that he (Mr. O'Meara) had met with a pretty return for his endeavours to serve Mr. Boys,—that he had procured the box for him at his earnest and repeated *request*.

"To the best of my recollection, knowledge, and belief, the above is a faithful repetition of the conversation which took place between Mr. O'Meara and myself upon this affair.

"BOWATER JAMES VERNON."

The truth of this account as to O'Meara being the party who handed over the snuff-box was fully confirmed by Mr. Boys himself, who wrote to Mr. Vernon on the 6th of August, and said that his statements were perfectly correct, and exactly what he must have made himself had he been on the spot. He added, "But although not the less obliged to you, yet you will allow me to say, that, excepting the dishonour which O'Meara's erroneous statements have done to him, when so ably and correctly refuted by you, the whole business from beginning to end will be deemed by everybody in England a complete bagatelle."

In his 'Voice from St. Helena' O'Meara has repre-

sented that Sir Hudson Lowe, of his own accord, released him from the restrictions which had been imposed, because Napoleon refused to see another surgeon, and on account of the remonstrances of the foreign Commissioners.[1] This is as usual untrue. It was O'Meara himself who suggested the removal of the restrictions on account of what he called "the appalling state" of Napoleon's health; and the Commissioners did not interfere in the matter in the slightest degree.[2] On the 5th of May he thus wrote to the Governor:—

"As Napoleon Bonaparte has declined seeing me since the 14th of April last, and I fear that some dangerous effects may follow, I beg leave to propose putting matters upon the footing they formerly were until the arrival of an answer from England. I am inclined to think that if he was informed that His Excellency considered me as his surgeon, as holding the place of a French surgeon not being subordinate to military discipline, but to civil obedience, that things were put upon the footing they were since my arrival, at least until the receipt of an answer from Government, that he would renew the confidence he formerly manifested. The actual state of matters now is appalling, and will probably produce very unpleasant

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 401.

[2] O'Meara says in his 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 401, that he had been informed that during an animated discussion on the subject the Governor, while debating with Baron Stürmer, burst forth into a paroxysm of anger, and the Baron "very coolly made his Excellency stop opposite to a large looking-glass, in which he begged of him to contemplate his own features." Upon this Sir Hudson Lowe has written the following note:—"There was no looking-glass in the room.—H. L." The discussion alluded to had reference entirely to the unauthorised communications which the Commissioners kept up with the French, and, according to Major Gorrequer, "the Governor spoke with perfect coolness during the time that the Baron expressed himself with great irritation and in a loud tone of voice."

sensations both in England and Europe. His Excellency may perhaps reflect upon the terrible responsibility which weighs upon him if (as is possible and very probable) Napoleon Bonaparte, deprived of assistance, was to die before the expiration of the five or six months required to obtain an answer from England."

In consequence of this application, the Governor determined not to enforce his order of the 10th of April, and caused O'Meara to be informed that he would be permitted to exercise his medical duties in the same manner as he had hitherto performed them until the instructions of Government were received respecting him; continuing, however, to be considered as an officer employed and paid by the British Government, and subject to the Governor's authority and control. But in the mean time, while he remained in the island, or until the orders of Government were received, he might consider himself as a surgeon attached solely to the person and family of Bonaparte, and "in fact as his domestic surgeon."

On the 10th of May, after O'Meara had resumed his duties as usual at Longwood, he made a report of Bonaparte's health, which was far from favourable. He said, — "The complaint is evidently hepatitis in a chronic and insidious form." That he was mistaken in this opinion was proved by the autopsy of Napoleon's body after his death. His liver in fact was healthy, and it was his stomach which was diseased. And though Bonaparte's health was represented by O'Meara at this time to be in so unsatisfactory a state, this account by no means tallied with the observation of others. On the 17th the orderly officer reported, "I saw General Bonaparte in the garden

on the evening of the 15th instant, walking about as usual. I have been also informed by the English gardener, who sees him oftener and nearer than I do, that he does not observe any alteration in the appearance of General Bonaparte since first he was employed at Longwood, and which is now a period of nearly nine months."

In the latter part of the month of May Bonaparte caused the whole of the English servants at Longwood to be discharged, because the orderly officer had by the directions of Sir Thomas Reade read to them a public notice issued by the Governor respecting communications from or to the persons detained there, instead of allowing the contents to be made known to them by him, their master, and they were replaced by two Chinese. On the same day he dismissed Le Page the cook, and his wife Jeannette, as the former had expressed a wish to leave Longwood some time before.

CHAPTER XX.

O'MEARA INTERROGATED BY THE GOVERNOR — ALLEGED DAMPNESS OF NAPOLEON'S APARTMENTS — EXPULSION OF O'MEARA FROM THE MESS OF THE 66TH REGIMENT — DEPARTURE OF THE AUSTRIAN COMMISSIONER — COUNT BERTRAND CHALLENGED BY COLONEL LYSTER — DESPATCHES FROM THE COLONIAL OFFICE RELATIVE TO INFORMATION GIVEN BY GENERAL GOURGAUD — CLANDESTINE CORRESPONDENCE CARRIED ON AT LONGWOOD.

ON the 12th of June the Governor had a long conversation with O'Meara, at which Major Gorrequer was present, and which affords another proof, if proof were wanting, of the surgeon's reckless disregard of truth, and his readiness to screen himself by falsehood whenever he dared not to avow and justify his acts. Sir Hudson, having called his attention to the fact of a sealed letter from Napoleon to the Earl of Liverpool having been sent to him which he forwarded to England unopened, said, that a copy of this letter had been conveyed to England in a clandestine manner, and published in the newspapers; and he then addressed O'Meara as follows:—"I, as the person charged with the custody of Napoleon Bonaparte's person, ask of you, as a British officer paid and employed by the British Government, on duty near him, if you know anything respecting the mode of its transmission, or by whom this letter was conveyed to England?" "*No, Sir,*" was the answer, "*I know nothing whatever about it.*" "Do you know any means or channel by *which it might* have been thus sent?" "*No, I do not, I can suspect no one.*" "Then

you mean to say, you do not know to whom this letter was given to be conveyed out of the island, by what mode or through what channel it was thus clandestinely transmitted to England, and that you do not know any person by whom it was likely to have been sent; in fact, that you know nothing about it?" "*Yes, Sir, I do mean to say so; I know nothing about it.*" "Will you state this upon your oath?" "It is an insult," replied Mr. O'Meara, after a short hesitation, "to ask me to take my oath, after what I have just answered; a person whose word is not worthy of belief does not deserve to have more credit given to his oath. You have no right to examine me upon oath on this business; and besides, it would be establishing a precedent I do not wish to do [make]." The Governor afterwards asked him if he knew of any paper having been sent home clandestinely in June last year. "No," he answered, "I do not; *this is the first I hear of any being sent then.*" "Have you any knowledge of any other paper having been thus sent home?" "*No, I have not,—none whatever.*" Changing the subject, Sir Hudson Lowe now asked O'Meara whether Napoleon Bonaparte was in want of any personal comforts which might be afforded him? He replied, that the room he slept in was very small, sometimes damp, and had no chimney in it, which latter was necessary in so small a room, and besides which, it was low; and he added, that the billiard-room was the only good-sized one in the house. The Governor said the drawing-room was a very good one also, and so was the library. But if Bonaparte had not a new house built, it was entirely his own fault, for when it was proposed to build him one, he would not give an answer. He then inquired whether there was anything that could be done

for his comfort with regard to diet? O'Meara replied that he believed there was no want in that respect; he had not heard that anything was required beyond what was furnished.

And now, after this deliberate denial of all knowledge of any copy of the letter to Lord Liverpool having been sent clandestinely to England, what will the reader think of the credit due to the assertions in his book, when we quote the first paragraph of his letter written and sent to Mr. Finlaison at the Admiralty in the month of November 1817, six months before? He there said, "*I enclose you a correct copy of Bonaparte's answer to Lord Bathurst's speech, the original of which was delivered to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 7th of October, sealed and directed to the Right Honourable Lord Liverpool.*" And as to his positive statement that he had never heard of any paper having been clandestinely sent home in June of the preceding year, he himself secretly enclosed a copy of Bonaparte's observations on the restrictions in a letter to Mr. Finlaison on the 29th of that month!

Sir Hudson Lowe lost no time in inquiring as to the dampness of Bonaparte's bed-room, and having called before him Mr. Darling, an upholsterer charged with the repairs and furnishing of the interior of Longwood House, put the following questions to him:—

"Have you been lately in Napoleon Bonaparte's bed-room?" "About five weeks since I went there to put up some curtains."

"Did you observe if there was any dampness in the room?" "None at all that I could see."

"How are the walls covered?" "They are covered with nankeen in folds."

"Do you think you would have observed any dampness, if any existed there?" "Yes, I think

I should; and I think that Marchand, his valet-de-chambre, if anything of that kind had existed, would have informed me of it, as he always does of everything that is wanting for his master."

"Is there any fireplace in the room?" "Not in the bed-room, but one in the room through which one passes to go into the bed-room, the door of which is almost constantly left open. I put carpets in both these rooms latterly."

"Is there not a fireplace at the back of the apartments also?" "Not immediately at the back. The bath-room lies at the back, and the fireplace at which the water is heated is on the outside."

"Did you ever observe any dampness in the house, or anything wanting on the roof?" "I observed the roof of the billiard-room to be out of repair at one time, but it has been repaired. There are servants' rooms above the lower apartments, and, if any wet was to get in, it would naturally be perceived there first. General Bonaparte has two beds in his bed-room, one of which was sent out here for him, and the other he brought with him. The large one he fixed at first in his drawing-room, but only slept there one night."

Colonel Wynyard was however sent to Count Montholon for the purpose of seeing whether by building a chimney or otherwise the alleged dampness might be remedied, and the Count's statement was at striking variance with that of Darling the upholsterer. He said that, the room being built on the ground, there was no circulation of air beneath the floor; that the whole house was the same in this respect (except the billiard-room, the floor of which being raised was less damp than any other), and the rafters and floor were in some places rotting, in conse-

quence of resting on the ground; that the bed-room in particular being immediately at the back of the bath-room, with a cistern at the outside behind it, the water soaked through underneath it, and, unless the windows were open and large fires kept in the adjoining rooms, it was like entering the vaults beneath a church, the damp was so striking on entering the room.

Between these conflicting assertions the reader must decide for himself, according to the credit he thinks due to Count Montholon or Mr. Darling.[1] But it may assist him in coming to a right conclusion to be told that Colonel Wynyard, in his report to the Governor of Count Montholon's remarks, stated, that, having been since his arrival at St. Helena charged with the superintendence of the repairs at Longwood, he thought it right to mention, that, although Count Montholon had been in the habit of making known to him complaints, and applying for any repairs or alterations that were required, this was the first time he had heard a complaint from himself or any individual of the dampness of Napoleon Bonaparte's bed-room.

On the 23rd of June O'Meara received a note from Colonel Lascelles, the commanding officer of the 66th regiment, shortly telling him that he could no longer allow him to be an honorary member of their mess. In his book O'Meara attributes this to Sir Hudson Lowe having employed Sir Thomas Reade to fill the mind of Colonel Lascelles with the most insidious

[1] In a report of O'Meara respecting Bonaparte's health, dated the 29th of June this year, he said he had been obliged to discontinue the use of mercurial preparations in consequence of a severe catarrhal affection of his patient, caused by the extreme humidity of his rooms. He stated also that the progress of *hepatitis* had increased.

calumnies against him, and to insinuate that his expulsion would be very agreeable to the Governor. These alleged calumnies were the simple statement of proved facts, and his conduct had been such as fully to justify Sir Hudson Lowe in suggesting that he should not be allowed to continue a member of the mess. O'Meara wrote to the officers of the regiment, thanking them for their past friendship and kindness, and on the following day he received the following reply,[1] which in justness and fairness to him is here given at length :—

"Dear Sir, "Deadwood, June 26, 1818.

"As president last night I had the honour of communicating to the mess the contents of your letter of the 25th instant, and am directed by the commanding officer and officers composing it to say, it is with much regret they hear of your departure as an honorary member of the mess, and to assure you they always conceived your conduct while with them to be perfectly consistent in every respect with that of a gentleman. I am also directed to say, the mess feel much indebted for the very flattering expressions of esteem contained in your letter, and have the honour, &c. "CHAS. M'CARTHY,

"Lieut. 66th Regiment."

That O'Meara possessed many agreeable social qualities there is no reason to doubt, and very probably he was a popular member of the mess; but it is not to be supposed that the gallant officers of the 66th would have sanctioned such a letter as the above if they had known, *as we now know*, the wilful and deliberate falsehoods of which the subject of it was guilty.

[1] See 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 411, where the letter is printed.

Let us, however, hear the account given by an officer who was at the time assistant-surgeon of the 66th, and well acquainted with the facts:[2]—

"About this time, Mr. O'Meara having been discovered tampering with two or three individuals resident in the island, with the object of prevailing on them to accept presents clandestinely from Napoleon, in violation of the regulations in force; and being also accused of repeating the confidential conversation of our mess—of which he was an honorary member—at Longwood; the Governor stated the facts of the case to Sir George Bingham and the commanding officer of the 66th, intimating to the latter his opinion that Mr. O'Meara should not be permitted to continue a member of the mess, he having abused the privileges his position gave him. At this time Colonel Nicol had gone to England, and another officer, whose name I do not mention, commanded the regiment. Without consulting the officers of the mess, or submitting for their consideration the facts communicated to him by the Governor, he sent a written intimation to Mr. O'Meara that his society was no longer desired by the regiment, which pretty strong hint the Doctor disregarded, came to dinner the same day, and afterwards appealed to the officers of the mess as to the propriety of his conduct whilst mixing with them. Having been kept in the dark as to the real culpability of O'Meara, and being, perhaps, a little piqued at the proceedings of their commanding officer, they readily certified to the gentlemanly deportment of Mr. O'Meara whilst he was a member of the mess. . . . .

"It is, I think, much to be regretted that the officers of the 66th mess should have given Mr.

[1] Henry's 'Events of a Military Life,' vol. ii. pp. 39-41.

O'Meara any written certificate of good character whilst a member of their mess. However correct his behaviour might have been before, the gross insult to our commanding officer, and indirectly to ourselves, of sitting down to dinner after the prohibitory note he had received, ought to have prevented any verbal or written testimony being given a man who could act with such effrontery. As it turned it, our certificate eventually became one chief prop to the credibility of O'Meara's 'Voice from St. Helena,' a specious but sophistical book, full of misrepresentations, yet more remarkable for the *suppressio veri* than the *assertio falsi.*"

That this statement is true to the letter is fully proved by the papers in the possession of the family of Sir Hudson Lowe. The conduct of Colonel Lascelles and Lieutenant Reardon with respect to O'Meara, and the correspondence between the two latter, were deemed by the Governor, when he heard of it in October, so unsatisfactory, that he directed Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham to investigate the matter, and he accordingly examined both the officers, but nothing material was elicited beyond what has been already stated. Considering, however, that Lieutenant Reardon was the professed friend of O'Meara, and that he afterwards, in 1823, came forward as his supporter and made an affidavit on his behalf, it is very remarkable that in reply to some interrogatories put to him by Sir George Bingham during the inquiry he spoke of him as "*that villain O'Meara,*" and said that he (Lieutenant Reardon) had told the Bertrands that what O'Meara had done at St. Helena could hang him, and that he himself would be a ruined man for having been his friend.

Sir Hudson Lowe determined to remove both Colonel Lascelles and Lieutenant Reardon from the island, and the former was succeeded in the command of the corps of the 66th regiment by Major Dodgin. The new Lieutenant-Colonel assembled a general meeting of the officers early in November, and they agreed upon the following letter, which was addressed and forwarded to Sir George Bingham:—

"Sir, "St. Helena, November 6, 1818.

"Lieut.-Colonel Dodgin having called a meeting of the officers of the regiment relative to a letter some time ago written to Mr. O'Meara, the late medical attendant at Longwood, in name of the commanding officer and officers composing the 66th mess, as this letter was written without our knowledge, advice, or consent, we, the undersigned officers of the 66th regiment, beg leave to declare to you, and request you will please to make known the same to his Excellency the Governor, that none of us were ever consulted on the writing of any letter to Mr. O'Meara; on the contrary, it was not till some time after the writing of the above-mentioned letter that it came to our knowledge that any correspondence whatever had taken place between the officers at Deadwood and Mr. O'Meara.

"We make this public declaration to you, that, in case Mr. O'Meara should think proper to publish the letter above referred to, his Excellency would be possessed of the means of exculpating the body of the officers of the regiment from any blame that may attach to them in the eyes of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

"We beg further to declare that no meeting of the officers of the regiment was ever held to con-

sult on any subject in which Mr. O'Meara was concerned.

"We have the honour to be, &c."

[Here follow the signatures of twenty-seven officers.]

At the same time the following letter was written to Lieut.-Colonel Dodgin :—

"Sir, "Deadwood, Nov. 6, 1818.

"Understanding that a communication is about to be made to his Excellency the Governor by the majority of the officers of the regiment, respecting a letter addressed by Mr. O'Meara to the officers of the Deadwood mess, and the answer thereto,—we, who were present at the mess when that letter was received, and who were acquainted with the answer, beg leave to state that, at the time when Mr. O'Meara ceased being an honorary member of our mess, we were totally ignorant of any imputation of improper conduct being attached to his character, and in replying we only acted, as we then judged, under the influence of the common rules of politeness. From circumstances which have since come to our knowledge, we have now to express our regret that an answer should have been sent, and to repeat that we were not then aware of any impropriety being ascribed to it.

"We have the honour to be, &c."

[To this letter were attached seven signatures.]

When in the month of March, 1819, some extracts from O'Meara's letter to the Admiralty, dated the 28th of October, 1818 (which will be particularly alluded to hereafter), were made known to the officers of the 66th, they addressed Sir George Bingham, and

said, with reference to their own letter to O'Meara signed by Lieutenant M'Carthy,—

"The behaviour of Mr. O'Meara whilst at the mess-table was alone referred to in that letter, a copy of which has been transmitted to the Governor, and nothing in the most remote degree connected with Mr. O'Meara's situation or conduct on the Longwood establishment was therein adverted to. It is then with feelings of the greatest surprise and indignation we have seen the false and scandalous construction put by Mr. O'Meara on a letter intended merely as a mark of common civility; and we now beg you, Sir, to assure His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe that the whole of the assertions and implications contained in the latter part of the extracts are wanton and malicious falsehoods; and that the publication of the letter from whence those extracts have been taken is a vain attempt to traduce the character of the officers of the 66th regiment."

At the suggestion of the British Government Baron Stürmer, the Austrian Commissioner, was removed from St. Helena at the end of June, in consequence of his persisting in unauthorised communications with the French at Longwood; but the unpleasantness of dismissal was veiled under the guise of an appointment as Consul General for Austria to the United States of America.

On the 2nd of July the Governor had a conversation with O'Meara, and, after suggesting a mode of remedying the dampness complained of in Napoleon's bed-room, said that he had frequently offered to build a house for Bonaparte, but had never obtained a decisive answer; that he had even offered to him the choice of a number of places (in the pleasantest and

best situations he could find in the island), but he had not thought proper to fix upon any; it was not his fault therefore if he was not better lodged. O'Meara answered, he understood that Napoleon had given an answer long ago, and that he only required a place where there was shade and water. The Governor replied that he had not given any answer which he could act upon.

On the morning of the 10th Bonaparte was so ill, that O'Meara succeeded in obtaining his consent to consult Mr. Stokoe, the surgeon of H.M.S. Conqueror, who, however, declined to attend him unless another professional person were also present, on the ground of the extreme responsibility of the case. O'Meara immediately reported the circumstance to Major Gorrequer for the Governor's information, and explained the symptoms of Napoleon's illness, in a note which would not be worth alluding to except to mention that he there speaks of the "humidity of the *season*" as one of the causes of his patient's malady, and that in his printed work he makes no allusion to the state of the weather, but attributes a severe catarrhal affection from which Napoleon suffered to the "extreme humidity of his *rooms*."[1] Was it fair, was it honest to substitute the one expression for the other for the purpose of giving effect to his picture of discomfort at Longwood?

On the 16th Captain Blakeney, after a year's service in that post, was, at his own request, removed from the situation of orderly officer at Longwood, and Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, who fifteen years before had served in a regiment with Sir Hudson Lowe, and was then Inspector of the militia force at St. Helena, with the

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 412.

local rank of Lieut.-Colonel, succeeded him, assisted by Lieutenant (now Lieut.-Colonel) Basil Jackson of the Royal Staff Corps. These appointments were immediately notified to Count Bertrand; and no objection was made by Napoleon until the 20th, the day on which the two officers came to Longwood; though the intention to send them was made known to him four days before. As soon as they arrived, however, a strong remonstrance to the Governor was written by Bertrand, at the instigation and by the dictation of Napoleon.

The chief objections urged in this letter were, that Colonel Lyster had commanded a Corsican regiment at Ajaccio, and was considered by Napoleon as a personal enemy.[1] It stated that one of the grievances of which he had a right to complain was the appointment of a person like "*Mr.* Lyster, whom you imposed on us as orderly officer, who is no longer in the service, and who holds no other commission than a command in the militia. A person who forms no part of the English army; who belongs to no corps; who has been your creature for many years, and is altogether dependent upon you; who will sign whatever you dictate, or conceive whatever you require; will say whatever you please, having no other will, no other conscience, than yours; that is to say, that of an avowed enemy; is more convenient to you, no doubt, than the acknowledged probity of a captain who belongs to a regular regiment, and who has to lose a reputation and a conscience of his own."

The Governor replied, that it was a mistake to

[1] "Nous avons reconnu avec surprise que le Lieut.-Colonel Lyster est le même qui a commandé à Ajaccio, ville où est située la maison paternelle de l'Empereur. Il a des raisons pour le considérer comme un ennemi personnel."

suppose that Colonel Lyster had ever commanded at Ajaccio, and that the reasons which induced Bonaparte to consider him as a personal enemy were entirely imaginary. He added, that, as that officer had already entered upon his duties, he could not consent to his removal, however willing he might have been not to appoint him in the first instance, if he had known that there was a prejudice against him. But there was another cause of offence: O'Meara had been in the habit of messing with the orderly officer, not as of right, but as a matter of mutual arrangement and convenience, and for some time past Captain Blakeney had ceased to continue this practice. When Colonel Lyster was appointed to succeed him he did not wish to have the company of O'Meara, and declared his intention not to allow him to mess with himself and Lieutenant Jackson. O'Meara called on the Colonel and asked him whether it was by the Governor's orders that this was done. He answered, No, and that surely he had a right to choose his own society. Almost immediately afterwards Count Montholon came and told Colonel Lyster that the Emperor looked upon the exclusion of O'Meara from his table as a marked insult to himself, that gentleman being his own surgeon, and that he had commanded all the French officers at Longwood, under pain of his severest displeasure, never again to receive as a visitor an English officer so long as O'Meara was not allowed to dine at the orderly's mess. Colonel Lyster simply replied "*Vous êtes le maître, Monsieur;*" and the Count left him. But he had not been gone half an hour before Bertrand came, "looking pale and agitated to a degree," and told the Colonel that the Emperor had commanded him to ask whether he was the officer "who had served several years in a Corsican corps raised by Sir Hudson Lowe,"

and to say that his residence at Longwood was particularly disagreeable. Colonel Lyster answered, that he had never served in any Corsican regiment, and that he greatly regretted the prejudice against him, as the Governor's instructions to him were to do everything in his power to conciliate and add to the comforts of the exiles, which he was most heartily disposed to do, and also to be on the most friendly footing with them if they would allow him; but that as to not establishing himself on the premises, it was entirely out of the question, as he could not possibly quit them without the positive orders of the Governor.

Unfortunately Sir Hudson Lowe showed Bertrand's letter to Colonel Lyster. This was an act both uncalled for and indiscreet, for it could do no good, and the language there used was of a nature greatly to irritate the feelings of a susceptible soldier. The result was even worse than might have been anticipated. Colonel Lyster allowed himself to be hurried away by anger, and so far forgot the relative positions of himself and Count Bertrand at St. Helena, that on the morning of the 24th he wrote and sent him, by Lieutenant Jackson, an indignant challenge, calling upon him, if he had the smallest spark of honour remaining, to give him satisfaction. To this no reply was sent, and the Colonel then wrote another letter more offensive in its language than the former, and threatened to horsewhip the Count,[1]—that is, the officer on guard threatened to castigate his prisoner, unless that prisoner would fight a duel with him! Bertrand forwarded the letter to the Governor, and, pretending to believe that Colonel Lyster was only

[1] These letters are printed in O'Meara's 'Exposition,' pp. 86 *et seq.* (2nd edit.)

acting as Sir Hudson Lowe's *second* in the matter, signified with safe courage his readiness to give the *principal* the satisfaction which he refused to the other. The consequence was that Colonel Lyster was immediately removed from duty at Longwood, and Captain Blakeney was re-appointed in his place. At the same time the Governor wrote to Count Bertrand, and expressed his concern and extreme displeasure that such a letter should have been addressed to him by the orderly officer.

The Governor desired O'Meara to attend at Plantation House on the 19th of July, and, after asking him some questions respecting Bonaparte's health, told him that Count Bertrand had been very busy in endeavouring to impress upon the minds of the foreign Commissioners that he (O'Meara) was an ill-used man, and that he was quite innocent of the delivery of the snuff-box to Mr. Boys, which had in reality been given to him by Count Montholon. Sir Hudson pointed out that this was an indirect and improper mode of exculpation, and expressed his surprise that O'Meara had not thought proper to avail himself of the opportunity offered to him of clearing up the matter, by entering into a full explanation with Admiral Plampin. O'Meara answered, that, with regard to what Count Bertrand had mentioned to the Commissioners, he had never heard of it until now; and that he had called upon the Admiral for the purpose of stating the whole matter to him, but he would not see him, and, as he had refused once to see him, it was not his business to go there a second time. The Governor observed, that this was not a fair way of stating the question, for he ought to have added that he went in opposition to and defiance of a written order from the Governor, of which the

Admiral was aware, and it was on that account that he was not received by him. "The order," said Sir Hudson, "was, that you were permitted to leave Longwood to go to the Admiral *in case the latter desired to see you.*" O'Meara's answer was, that he did not acknowledge a passive obedience to all orders; and that he had a right to exercise his own judgment with respect to what it was proper for him to obey.

After some further conversation the Governor said to O'Meara, that, as he had not thought proper to make the attempt to clear up his character before the Admiral, as had been so frequently suggested to him, he must consider him as under a cloud for having betrayed the trust reposed in him as a British officer, and practised a deception upon his Government. O'Meara again replied, that, having once called upon the Admiral for that purpose and been refused, he did not think it his business to go a second time.

About the middle of the month some very important despatches for the Governor arrived from England. Early in May General Gourgaud had given to Mr Goulburn, Under Secretary of State, such information as showed that O'Meara's reports of Bonaparte's health were grossly exaggerated, if not altogether untrue, and that he was so much under his influence as to be no longer worthy of trust. The revelations made by General Gourgaud, as to the clandestine correspondence and receipt of money at Longwood, prove incontestably, if proof were wanting, the necessity of the restrictions so much complained of, and the expediency of severer regulations than had been imposed upon Napoleon and his suite. A copy of Mr. Goulburn's letter was forwarded by Earl

Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe, and it is so interesting as well as important, that it is here given entire:—

"My Lord, "Downing Street, May 10, 1818.

"In obedience to your directions, I have had several conversations with General Gourgaud, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he was disposed to afford any further details upon the several points adverted to in Sir Hudson Lowe's more recent despatches. The information which I have received from him, though given in considerable detail, is in substance as follows:—

"General Gourgaud had no difficulty in avowing that there has always existed a free and uninterrupted communication between the inhabitants of Longwood and this country and the Continent, without the knowledge or intervention of the Governor, and that this has been made use of, not only for the purpose of receiving and transmitting letters, but for that of receiving pamphlets, money, and other articles of which the party in Longwood might from time to time be in want: that the correspondence has for the most part been carried on direct with Great Britain, and that the persons employed in it are those Englishmen who from time to time visit St. Helena, to all of whom the attendants or servants of Buonaparte have free access, and who, generally speaking, are willing, many without any reward, and others for very small pecuniary recompence, to convey to Europe any letter or packet intrusted to their charge. It would appear also that the captains and others on board the merchant-ships touching at the island, whether belonging to the East India Company or to other persons, are considered at Longwood as being peculiarly open to the seduction of General Buona-

parte's talents, so much so indeed, that the inhabitants of Longwood have regarded it as a matter of small difficulty to procure a passage on board one of these ships for General Buonaparte, if escape should at any time be his object.

"General Gourgaud stated himself to have been aware of General Buonaparte having received a considerable sum of money in Spanish dollars, viz. 10,000*l.*, at the very time that he disposed of his plate, but, on being pressed by me as to the persons privy to that transaction, he contented himself with assuring me that the mode of its transmission was one purely accidental, that it could never again occur, and that, such being the case, he trusted that I should not press a discovery, which, while it betrayed its author, could have no effect either as regarded the punishment of the offenders, or the prevention of a similar act in future. The actual possession of money was moreover not likely, in his view of the subject, to afford any additional means of corrupting the fidelity of those whom it might be advisable to seduce, as it was well known that any draught, whatever might be its amount, drawn by General Buonaparte on Prince Eugene, or on certain other members of his family, would be scrupulously honoured.

"He assured me, however, in answer to my inquiries, that neither Mr. Balcombe nor Mr. O'Meara were in any degree privy to the above transaction, and that the former, although much dissatisfied with his situation, had never in any money transaction betrayed the trust reposed in him. He declined, however, most distinctly, giving me the same assurance with respect to their not being either or both privy to the transmission of a clandestine correspondence.

"Upon the subject of General Buonaparte's escape,

he confidently stated that, although Longwood was from its situation capable of being well protected by sentries, yet he was certain that there was no difficulty in eluding at any time the vigilance of the sentries posted round the house and grounds, and in short that escape from the island appeared to him in no degree impracticable. The subject, he confessed, had been discussed at Longwood, and the individuals of the establishment separately desired to give their plans for effecting it; but he expressed his belief to be that General Buonaparte was so fully impressed with the opinion that he should be permitted to leave St. Helena, either upon a change of ministry in England, or by the unwillingness of the English to bear the expense of detaining him, that he would not at present run the hazard to which an attempt at escape might expose him. It appears, however, from the statement of General Gourgaud, and from other circumstances stated by him, that General Buonaparte has always looked to the period of the removal of the allied armies from France as that most favourable for his return; and the probability of such a decision, and the consequence which would follow from it, were urged by him as an argument to dissuade General Gourgaud from quitting him until after that period.

"Upon the subject of General Buonaparte's health, General Gourgaud stated that we were much imposed upon; that General Buonaparte was not, as far as bodily health was concerned, in any degree materially altered; and that the representations on this subject had little if any truth in them. Dr. O'Meara was certainly the dupe of that influence which General Buonaparte always exercises over those with whom he has frequent intercourse; and though he (General Gourgaud) individually had only reason '*de se louer*

de Mr. O'Meara,' yet his intimate knowledge of General Buonaparte enabled him confidently to assert that his bodily health was not at all worse than it had been for some time previous to his arrival at St. Helena.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HENRY GOULBURN."

In consequence of the information given by General Gourgaud, and the strong grounds thereby furnished for suspecting O'Meara's fidelity, Earl Bathurst resolved to remove him from his post of medical attendant upon Bonaparte. And it deserves to be especially noticed that General Gourgaud, and not Sir Hudson Lowe, was the cause of his dismissal. In a private despatch to the latter, dated April 29, 1818, Lord Bathurst had declined to comply with the Governor's desire to remove O'Meara from St. Helena, stating as his motive that the reasons which must be assigned for such a step, namely, his unbecoming behaviour towards the Governor, and his refusal to reveal his conversations with Bonaparte, were, under the circumstances, not sufficiently strong to justify so invidious a measure as the withdrawal of the only doctor whom Bonaparte would consult.

Now, however, he saw the matter in a different light, and felt that it was dangerous to continue O'Meara any longer in his responsible office. He therefore wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 16th of May, and instructed him forthwith to remove O'Meara, and interdict all further communication between him and the inmates of Longwood. In a private letter of the same date he said,—"We must expect that the removal of Mr. O'Meara will occasion a great sensation, and an attempt will be made to give a bad im-

pression on the subject. You had better let the substance of my instruction be generally known as soon as you have executed it, that it may not be represented that Mr. O'Meara has been removed in consequence of any quarrel with you, but in consequence of the information furnished by General Gourgaud in England respecting his conduct."

In another despatch Lord Bathurst, adverting to the clandestine correspondence which was proved by Gourgaud's testimony to be carried on at Longwood, directed Sir Hudson Lowe to "impose such restrictions with respect to the communications between General Buonaparte's followers and the inhabitants of St. Helena as might appear to him to be necessary to prevent its continuance." At the same time he instructed Mr. Goulburn to state that it was not his object or wish to impose any further restrictions upon Bonaparte himself, or enforce against his followers when in his company any which might be made by him a pretext for refusing to take exercise, or might be justly represented by him as diminishing the liberty he then enjoyed.

It was indeed absolutely necessary to exercise the closest vigilance, for it was discovered that secret communications were carried on between Longwood and Bahia in the Brazils by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and in the month of April a packet of letters from the French at St. Helena was delivered in London by a person who arrived there from Brazil. Lord Bathurst made known this intelligence to Sir Hudson Lowe, and in the same despatch, which reached St. Helena in the middle of July, informed him that there was no doubt that it had been in contemplation that a party of French and other adventurers should proceed from Pernambuco to St. Helena for the purpose of

effecting the escape of Bonaparte. It is right to insert Lord Bathurst's letter at length, as it will show what necessity there was imposed upon the Governor to watch his prisoner with the utmost care. The despatch was as follows:—

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

"Sir, "Downing Street, London, 23rd April, 1818.

"I have recently received information that a channel of correspondence has been opened between the inhabitants of Longwood and a person resident at Bahia, of which I deem it necessary to put you in possession of the details.

"That a correspondence has taken place between Longwood and Bahia by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, without your intervention or knowledge, admits of very little doubt; and it is only a few days since that a packet of letters from Longwood was delivered to a person in London by another arriving from Brazil. On an examination of this transaction, it was out of my power to discover the name of the person actually engaged in carrying on this correspondence. It appeared, however, that the person was an Englishman (possibly, however, an American), usually resident at Bahia; that he had been twice at St. Helena by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and that he had had interviews, if not with Buonaparte, at least with some of the inhabitants of Longwood, and had received from them letters for Europe. The ostensible object of some of the letters recently delivered in London was to secure the transmission to Longwood of certain political publications. For this purpose it was desired that they should be forwarded in small packets capable of concealment if necessary, and addressed to a merchant there of the name of

W. Rose, who was stated to have the means of ensuring their delivery at Longwood, and who is represented as the agent and correspondent of the person at Bahia.

"I am aware that the evidence obtained upon this subject is not sufficient to enable you to take any immediate measures beyond those of vigilance or precaution. There can be little doubt, however, that this hitherto successful mode of correspondence will be again resorted to; and I have, therefore, deemed it necessary to communicate the information to Lord Charles Somerset, and to desire that, in the event of any person from Bahia attempting to proceed to St. Helena through the intervention of Mr. W. Rose, his Lordship would send in the same ship with the person so proceeding a confidential communication to you by a special messenger. You will, of course, see the advantage of closely watching any person so pointed out to you, and, if circumstances shall appear to you to justify it, to make a seizure of his person and papers. You will be the best judge as to the period at which this seizure may be most usefully carried into effect. I would, however, suggest to you the advantage of deferring it until the person in question should be on his return to the Cape, after having executed his commission at Longwood, as by this means it appears to me that the real views and objects of the correspondence may be best developed.

"There is no doubt that measures have been in contemplation to proceed with a party of French and other adventurers from Pernambuco to St. Helena for the rescue of General Buonaparte; and as this circumstance was not known to the person who furnished me with the information respecting what was passing at St. Helena, I am the more inclined to give credit

to the intelligence he has given me. I have the honour, &c.

"BATHURST."

With respect to the question of another residence for Bonaparte, Lord Bathurst wrote strongly dissuading the purchase of Rosemary Hall, which had been contemplated, and he told Sir Hudson Lowe that he wished him to consider himself restricted by his instructions to the alternative of either enlarging the existing house at Longwood, or building a new one within the same limits. "Nevertheless," continued Lord Bathurst, "if General Buonaparte shall have expressed a decided wish to have the house built at Rosemary Hall, and you shall have given him reason to consider it as a matter conceded to him, you will in that case not disappoint him, provided, first, that you purchase the place at a reasonable price, and, secondly, that General Buonaparte shall persist in preferring that situation after it shall have been explained to him that no other purchase is to be made, and that his limits therefore will be so confined."

In order to heighten his picture of the straits to which he pretends the ex-Emperor was reduced, O'Meara tells us that Napoleon was obliged to have his coat *turned*, owing to the neglect of Government in sending out a proper supply of green cloth.[1] That Bonaparte's coats *were* turned is very probable, but, if so, it is equally probable that this was done for the purpose of making out a case of grievance. At all events the English Government showed every anxiety to keep his wardrobe well furnished; and with the despatches above quoted a letter arrived from Mr. Goulburn, addressed

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 153.

to the Governor, on that subject, "in order to prevent the possibility of the original stock being exhausted before a fresh supply was placed at his disposal." Few can, I think, doubt that Mr. Goulburn was justified in adding, "From the temper which General Buonaparte has so frequently shown on similar subjects, it is not improbable that he might be disposed to conceal from you the deficiency of any articles either of necessity or comfort, with a view of making that deficiency hereafter a subject of remonstrance and complaint."

CHAPTER XXI.

REMOVAL OF O'MEARA FROM ST. HELENA — PLANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW RESIDENCE FOR BONAPARTE — UNFAVOURABLE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY COUNT BERTRAND — SIR HUDSON LOWE'S MEASURES FOR THE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY IN THE ISLAND — GOOD EFFECTS OF O'MEARA'S DEPARTURE — DISCOVERY OF CLANDESTINE CORRESPONDENCE IMPLICATING O'MEARA, MR. BALCOMBE, AND OTHERS.

THE Governor now proceeded to put in force the instructions he had received with regard to the removal of O'Meara. On the 25th of July a letter was addressed and delivered to that person by Colonel Wynyard, the assistant military secretary, informing him that, in consequence of orders received from Earl Bathurst, he must immediately withdraw from Longwood, *without holding any farther communication whatever with its inmates*, and that Admiral Plampin had received directions from the Admiralty as to his destination when he quitted the island.[1]

Notwithstanding the positive injunction contained in this letter, O'Meara, as he himself tells us, "determined to disobey it whatever might be the conse-

[1] It is worth while to notice that O'Meara gives three different versions of the mode in which he was employed when Colonel Wynyard called upon him. First, in a letter to Mr. Finlaison of the 10th of August, 1818, he says, "I was informed by my servant *while reading in the library at Longwood House*," &c. Secondly, in his 'Exposition,' published in 1819, "*While occupied*, on the 25th of July, 1818, *in preparing the medicines* which I left with Napoleon's valet-de-chambre," &c. Thirdly, in the 'Voice,' published in 1822, vol. ii. p. 414, "After having paid a professional visit to Napoleon, whose malady was by no means altered for the better, and *while entering my room at about half-past four o'clock*," &c.

quences;"[1] and immediately after, ordering his servant to pack up his things, he went to Napoleon, with whom he remained two hours before he came back to his room. On being informed of his return, Colonel Wynyard, accompanied by Captain Blakeney, went to him and thus addressed him:—"Mr. O'Meara, you have thought proper immediately on the receipt of the instruction I communicated to you to act in direct violation of it, by going in to see General Bonaparte." He answered, "*Yes*, I don't acknowledge the authority." Colonel Wynward then said, "Very well, Sir; on the receipt of that letter you cease to belong to the establishment at Longwood; you will therefore see your things put up as speedily as possible, and quit the premises for James Town."

This order was at once put in force, and O'Meara left Longwood never to return; for, in consequence of his contumacious language and conduct, the Governor directed the Marshal of the island (whom O'Meara calls the "Gaoler") to inform him that he must quit St. Helena forthwith.

On the day of his removal from Longwood, Dr. Verling, an assistant-surgeon of the Royal Artillery, who was personally known to Bonaparte, having come out to St. Helena with him in the Northumberland, was directed by the Governor immediately to proceed to Longwood and afford his medical services to Bonaparte and the other inmates there.

It was of course most desirable that Dr. Verling should know the mode of treatment hitherto adopted by O'Meara in the case of Napoleon, and have an accurate account of his constitution and state of health. He therefore applied to O'Meara for permission to inspect his medical journal, "the only document," as

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 415.

Dr. Verling wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, "on which any thoroughly just conception could be formed of his (Bonaparte's) constitution or the nature of his complaints, or the propriety of the system which may have been adopted for their cure." This, however, O'Meara positively refused to allow, nor would he consent to furnish any copy. He said that he had not the journal in his possession,[1] and that if he had he would not give it without the previous sanction of Napoleon; but that he was ready to give the bulletins and a sketch or extract of his treatment from the journal. This, however, was clearly insufficient, and indeed useless; for no reliance could be placed on the bulletins without comparing them with the journal; and this offer was declined. Nothing tends to throw greater suspicion upon his former reports than this extraordinary conduct. Either Napoleon was in good health, and those reports were false; or he was ill, and O'Meara was content to sacrifice the health of his patient to the gratification of his own private pique. Few will be disposed to deny that, under the circumstances of the case, the Governor would have been justified in taking from him his medical journal by force.

O'Meara was now sent on board H. M. sloop Griffon for a passage to England. He protested against this proceeding in a letter to the Secretary to the Government, on the ground that his baggage, bedding, and money which he had placed in Captain Blakeney's hands, had not reached him, and said that he should hold the "giver of the order" responsible for any consequences to his creditors. On the 30th he complained, in an official letter to Rear-Admiral Plampin, that while he was separated from his baggage his

[1] The journal, in reality, had been made over to Count Bertrand, but no doubt for the very purpose of enabling O'Meara to make this answer.

"writing-desk had been opened and plundered" of a gold watch-chain, gold seals, an onyx brooch, and other valuable articles "to a very large amount." Admiral Plampin instantly forwarded the letter to the Governor, who ordered Sir George Bingham, as the sitting magistrate, to institute forthwith a judicial inquiry to ascertain the facts of the case, and discover by whom the articles had been taken. O'Meara was permitted to land for the purpose of making a deposition, and both his servants were examined, but nothing was elicited which could throw light on the alleged theft.

On the 2nd of August O'Meara sailed for England, where we shall find that in his anxiety to calumniate Sir Hudson Lowe he overreached himself, and was dismissed from the service—an affront which he was not likely to forgive, and which prompted him to compile the work of which the misstatements and misrepresentations have been allowed too long to delude and mislead the public.[1]

On the 30th of July a conversation took place between Count Montholon, Dr. Verling, and Lieutenant Jackson, when the Count spoke of the restrictions, and said, "So long as the present system is adhered to, the Emperor will continue the same conduct. For two months past he has not been out of doors; he generally goes to bed about 3 or 4 o'clock, gets up in the night and walks about in his robe-de-chambre; sometimes during the day he walks in the

[1] Count Montholon, in his 'Récits,' vol. ii. p. 315, relates a fact respecting O'Meara's 'Journal,' published in 1822, which is curious *if true*:—"During the little time that O'Meara remained with the Emperor [after he was ordered to leave Longwood] I ran to the surgery to take his Journal, which he had hid in case of accident. His conversations were written in Italian. I transmitted this Journal to him to England after having read it to the Emperor, *who pointed out many errors in it.*"

billiard-room dressed, at others in his dressing-gown. *He is never seen; and I defy the Governor to say that he knows for certain he is at Longwood, or has known for the last two months.* Let the restrictions be removed, and we will then resume our former method of living. The Emperor will take his rides, and the Governor may himself see him, and know from actual observation that he is here." A more striking proof than this of the absolute necessity that the orderly officer should insist upon *seeing* Napoleon daily could not have been given. And yet there was no point which Bonaparte more pertinaciously resisted.

On the 15th of August, 1818, Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard called upon Count Montholon by the Governor's desire, with several plans he had directed to be drawn, in consequence of instructions from England to erect a new house; and he said he had to request that the Count would examine and present them for consideration. He added that the Governor had in these plans endeavoured to consult as much as possible their convenience and comfort, and any suggestion that was made in conformity with the general design he would be happy to attend to. Count Montholon said, he would not fail to present them on the first opportunity; but he afterwards added, that he very much disliked having to do so, and wished it over with all his heart. A few days afterwards Colonel Wynyard again called upon him with Major Emmett of the Engineers, and submitted some plans, which Montholon fully discussed with them, and said that the main considerations were large rooms, plenty of them, and an entire separation of apartments.

On the 17th Sir Hudson Lowe had a conversation with Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner, who with Captain De Gors, aide-de-camp to the Marquis

de Montchenu, was on the point of proceeding for a short time to Rio de Janeiro. He met him riding in company with the Marquis, and the Count told him that, according to the information given him by Count Montholon, it was a fixed idea in the minds of the French at Longwood that it was the intention of the British Government to assassinate the Emperor, and that the Governor was the instrument to execute their design. Sir Hudson replied that this was not what they believed themselves, but what they wished to make others believe. Count Balmain then said that Montholon told him "that he had done everything in his power to remove such ideas from the Emperor's mind; that he had assured him it was in vain to combat against the evils of his situation by following the course he had pursued; that the Emperor lent an ear to him, and seemed almost disposed to attend to his suggestions, but that Count Bertrand would then come in and say, '*Mais, Sire, votre gloire, votre nom !*' and everything which Montholon said, or the Emperor proposed to do, fell at once to the ground." Count Balmain dwelt much on this effect of Bertrand's influence and interference; and was supported in his remarks by the Marquis de Montchenu.

Count Balmain added, that he believed there was a great jealousy between Bertrand and Montholon, on account of the Governor having recently addressed the latter instead of the former, and made him the channel of his communications with Bonaparte.

Although it is no part of the history of the captivity which these volumes profess to record, we must not omit here, in justice to the memory of Sir Hudson Lowe, to notice an event which happened about this time, and which stands in refreshing contrast to the

disputes in which he was, from no fault of his own, so constantly involved with the French at Longwood. I allude to the gradual abolition of slavery at St. Helena, in which humane act the Governor took a leading and conspicuous part. The opinions which he avowed and the exertions which he made with reference to the extinction of slavery, at a time when great names were arrayed on the other side, and many reasoners were found who were not ashamed to argue that, because slavery is not expressly and by name prohibited in the New Testament, it is an institution sanctioned by and consistent with the spirit and genius of Christianity, are deserving of all praise. Having carefully considered the matter with the members of his Council, Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 13th of August this year, convened a meeting at the Castle in James Town, of the principal slave-proprietors and other inhabitants of St. Helena, and addressed them in an able and conciliatory speech, with the view of inducing them to consent to a law declaring that all children born of slave parents after a certain date should be free. He said,—

"He had grounds for saying that the subject had attracted the serious attention of the Court of Directors, who most naturally view with regret this island as the only spot under their government where slavery existed under any form or shape whatever.

"How infinitely preferable it would be to anticipate their desires by a voluntary act of the inhabitants themselves, than to await the dictates of what might be suggested to them! In no part, he was happy to find, and gratified to express to them, did slavery exist in a milder form than in this island—he ever was ready and willing to do justice to the disposition of the inhabitants in this respect. Still slavery existed, and would remain in perpetuity upon the system which at

present prevailed, of every child born of a slave being also a slave.

"This was the only possession of the East India Company, he repeated, where slavery existed Beyond the Cape there had been a colony, under the administration of the King's Government, where it recently remained in full force; the inhabitants of that colony however (the island of Ceylon), had come to a voluntary resolution of declaring that all the children born of slave parents after a fixed day (that of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's birthday in the year 1816) should be free, providing, upon certain conditions, for their being maintained until the age of fourteen years.

"It was an example of this nature he proposed to them to imitate."

Sir Hudson Lowe however added, that he left the matter entirely to their own deliberation, and was desirous that nothing should be resolved upon which did not meet their full concurrence.

Happily the humane sentiments of the Governor and his Council found an immediate echo in the minds of the inhabitants of the island. They at once proceeded to elect a committee for drawing up resolutions on the subject, which, being submitted to a general meeting of the whole of the slave proprietors on the 17th August, were unanimously approved, and submitted to the Governor and Council to be passed into a law on the same day.

The first of these resolutions was, "That, from and after the 25th day of December next ensuing, being the anniversary of the birth of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, all children born of slaves shall be considered free."

Upon this the Governor immediately issued a pro-

clamation declaring the above resolution to be a law of the island.

It would be wrong not to mention also the enlightened and generous policy of the East India Company in this matter. In a letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council at St. Helena, dated the 21st of April, 1819, they said,—

"The wise, humane, and liberal measures which we find, by your letters of the 18th August and 11th September last, have been adopted by the inhabitants of St. Helena, for preventing the perpetual continuance of slavery in the island, are so much in unison with those feelings and sentiments which we have long entertained, that they cannot fail to receive, as they have merited, our approbation and applause; and it reflects the highest credit on the inhabitants that they should have shown, in so unequivocal a manner, a determination to strike at the root of the evil by the adoption of measures tending to general emancipation, with due regard to the circumstances of the island, and the situation of the slaves who at present form a part of its population. But although the resolutions above referred to will gradually lead to the entire abolition of slavery in the island, where the Governor has justly observed it has existed only in a mild form, it is equally evident that a very long period must elapse before this most desirable end can be fully accomplished. . . . . We have given particular attention to the arguments of the Committee of Proprietors in the second paragraph of their address to the Governor and Council against a sudden and total abolition of slavery, or a general emancipation of their slaves, and we admit those arguments to have considerable weight, and to show the inexpediency of immediate and universal emancipation. We cannot, however, suffer

them to interfere with our anxious desire for a more general extension of the humane principles which have influenced the decision of the Committee, so far as regards the slaves belonging to the Company. . . . . The number of slaves the property of the Company appears by the letter above mentioned to be 97; viz. 53 males and 44 females: of the males, 28 were between 16 and 60 years of age, two above 60, and 23 under 16 years of age; of the females, 21 were above, and 23 under, 13 years of age. The slaves belonging to the Company were all employed on the Government establishment as house-servants, as cattle-tenders, or in taking care of the Government garden and grounds; the women in washing and care of the children.

"We have resolved that all children born after the 25th December, 1818, of slaves the property of the Company at St. Helena, shall be considered *free*."

When O'Meara left Longwood it seemed as if the evil genius of the place had departed: at all events the relations between the Governor and its inhabitants soon became of a more amicable and satisfactory character. On the 4th of September Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Earl Bathurst and informed him that Bonaparte had the day before walked out in his garden, dressed in his usual manner, being the first time he had quitted his house for several months past. He mentioned also that, although Bonaparte had not consented to receive any visits from Dr. Verling, there was strong reason to suppose that it did not proceed from any objection to have the advice of any other medical person than the one who had lately quitted him, but that he really did not at the time stand in need of medical aid, as Dr. Verling had been told, both by Count Montholon and the Countess Bertrand, that his health was much

better; and no complaint or indication whatever of his being in a bad or even indifferent state of health had manifested itself since the departure of O'Meara. The foundation for the new house had also been traced without opposition in the precincts of the garden at Longwood, which appeared to be the best situation for it that could be found in that locality.

Sir Hudson Lowe's letter contained a characteristic anecdote of Madame Bertrand. She seems to have been a lady by no means deficient in spirit, and one who was properly sensitive as to any imputation on her husband's honour. "The Countess Bertrand," he said, "I understand, is a good deal affected at the affair which occurred between her husband and Lieut.-Colonel Lyster. She has attempted to justify him, firstly, for not attending the summons of Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, that, as a man who has commanded armies, he could not be supposed wanting in courage, nor was she a woman to marry *un lâche;* and, secondly, that General Bonaparte himself dictated the whole of the letters written to me, and they were none of them her husband's composition; that it was unfortunate he had not employed Count Montholon to write them instead of him."

A discovery was now made by the Governor which, although it led to no future results of importance, yet threw considerable light upon the conduct of persons both in England and St. Helena, and proved how little O'Meara and Mr. Balcombe were to be trusted by either Sir Hudson Lowe or the British Government, and how little they and others respected the regulations in force in the island. At the time no doubt the matter was of considerable importance, and justified strict inquiry and minute investigation, as it was impossible to tell how far the ramifications of what

looked very like a conspiracy to defeat the restrictions imposed upon communications with Longwood extended. Now, however, the interest has passed away, and we shall only relate, as clearly and concisely as possible, the main facts brought to light on the occasion.

On the 19th of September the Lusitania store-ship arrived at St. Helena from England, and brought out, under the charge of the commander, Captain Brash, a box of books, which had been sent down to him at Deal by a person of the name of William Holmes, residing at Lyons Inn, London. Captain Brash had previously seen Mr. Holmes at his office in town, and was made acquainted that the books were for Mr. O'Meara; but in a letter which Captain Brash afterwards received from Mr. Holmes, enclosing one to the address of Mr. Fowler, a partner in the house of Balcombe, Cole, and Co., he was informed that they were for Mr. Balcombe's partner. A letter was also received by the same occasion to the address of "Dr. O'Meara." The box itself bore no other address than that of Captain Brash. Mr. Fowler, the partner of Mr. Balcombe, to whom one of the letters was addressed, showed it immediately to Sir Thomas Reade, who brought it to the Governor. This letter enclosed another to the address of "James Forbes, Esq.," which Mr. Fowler was desired to deliver. He was also directed to deliver the books, which were stated to be French. Mr. Fowler said that he did not know any such person as Mr. Forbes, neither did he know Mr. Holmes. Mr. Fowler was called before the Council, and there formally interrogated as to his knowledge either of Mr. Holmes or Mr. Forbes; after which the Governor informed him, in the presence of Sir George Bingham and Mr. Brooke, two members

of Council, that the box must be opened and examined in his presence before it could be admitted to pass into the town. This was immediately done at the wharf where it lay, and it was found to contain French books and a copy of the 'Morning Chronicle' of the latest date prior to the sailing of the vessel. It was evident from the nature of the books that they were destined for the inmates of Longwood, and although there would have been no difficulty in the way of their receiving them if they had been forwarded in the regular manner, this clandestine mode of introduction, in violation of the established rules, naturally excited much suspicion. Sir Hudson Lowe, therefore, after communicating with Sir George Bingham and Mr. Brooke, and finding that they entirely agreed with him as to the propriety of opening the letter addressed to "Mr. Forbes," who was not to be found, and respecting whom no information whatever was to be had, broke the seal in their presence, when the first words that appeared were "*Dear O'Meara,*" and the letter was signed "William Holmes." Its contents have little interest now, but they clearly prove that secret and illicit communications were kept up between London and St. Helena, and that several persons were engaged in these transactions. The only passages which are worth quoting here are the following:—

"I have persuaded Brash to take the French books, and they follow him to Deal to-night to be shipped; and he has instructions to give them to Fowler. The English books are sent to Stokoe. I intend starting for Paris next week to see Lafitte, and perhaps will see Las Cases, but fear my journey will be useless, from the insufficiency of the documents I hold. Balcombe much regrets that he did not bring me full authority to act; he does not wish to appear active

himself; he nevertheless acts in concert with me on all occasions.

"I am seriously concerned to hear of Napoleon being so ill; do advise him to take exercise; for, if he shortens his life by refusing to do so, he will only the more gratify the savage malignity of his foes: he ought not to despair, for, rest assured, a change for the better will, sooner or later, take place, and his great mind should not at this juncture forsake him. Mills will not answer my letters—what can he mean? Seek every opportunity of writing to me, and sending what you can. Street and Parker refused to pay Gourgaud's bill for 500*l.*, but they have since heard from Las Cases, and it is settled. I understand the old General does not mean to publish, but, should he, Perry of the 'Chronicle' has promised his assistance.

"I understand you are to draw for 1800*l.*: you shall hear the issue of my visit to Lafitte; and, if your remittances are paid, trade of that kind can be carried on to any extent."

Sir Hudson Lowe now went to Admiral Plampin, and communicated to him the discovery that had been made. The Admiral was of opinion that the reference made to other papers in the letter warranted and required an immediate examination of all other letters or parcels which might have been brought by any person for O'Meara from the same quarter. On examination the parcels were found to contain books and two letters for O'Meara—one from Mr. Holmes, and the other, of no importance, from Mrs. Balcombe. There now remained unopened the letter to the address of O'Meara brought by Captain Brash. On this being opened it was found to contain one to the address of Mr. Stokoe (assistant surgeon on board the

Conqueror), who said he had no acquaintance whatever with Mr. Holmes, and made no objection to the letter being opened and perused. It was found not to contain a letter from Mr. Holmes to him, but one from Mr. Balcombe to Mr. Stokoe, enclosing another under the address "For our friend Barry O'Meara, St. Helena." It thus appears that this letter was enclosed in three envelopes,—the first of which was addressed to O'Meara, the second to Mr. Stokoe, and the third to O'Meara again!

The letter from Mr. Balcombe to Mr. Stokoe had nothing in it to commit Mr. Stokoe himself, and consisted only of a few lines, saying, "I am doing all I can for our friend Barry," or words to that effect. That from the same writer to "our friend Barry," which was dated "Holmes' Office, 24th June, 1818," was as follows:—

"My dear Barry,

"Everything has been done that can be done; all your books were sent on board Lucytania, but the captain has just called at our friend Holmes' office, where I am writing this, to say he can't take them (I mean the French books). Holmes is indefatigable in his exertions in *your cause*, and all my friends, among the rest Sir George and Sir P——, are of the same opinion with us. All communications whatever must be sent to Holmes, as I mean to leave off any agency business in England except through him. He is more acquainted, and has a very extensive knowledge of what ought to be done for you; rest perfectly easy that no stone will be left unturned to serve our friends on the island. I have been hard at work for you, and what has been said has been listened to. I am just going to the Secretary of State's office, where I have been twice before on your business.

The election is going on rapidly; the opposition members are all coming in, the ministerial going out; a change in the administration is expected. The Leveret, Sir George C—— has told me, will sail for your island in the course of ten days, when you will receive the French books from Holmes. I have delivered all up to Holmes, who is making the best use of them. Pray burn all my scrawls, as they are not fit to read—written so bad. With best regards to all our friends, I remain, &c.

"JAMES BALCOMBE."

A letter also came from Mr. Holmes to Mr. Stokoe, begging him to give the following enclosure to Count Bertrand in private, in case O'Meara had left the island, as he did not wish the Governor to peruse it.

"REPLY TO LETTER ADDRESSED TO PARIS.

"London, August 25, 1818.

"The 100,000 francs lent in 1816 are paid—likewise the 72,000 francs which complete the 395,000 francs mentioned in the note of the 15th March. The 36,000 francs for 1817, and the like sum for 1819, have also been paid by the person ordered. Remain quiet as to the funds placed; the farmers are good, and they will pay bills for the amount of the income, which must be calculated at the rate of four per cent., commencing from 1816; that is to say, there will be three years of the interest due the expiration of the present year—all other letters have been delivered."

In detailing these circumstances to Lord Bathurst, Sir Hudson said in his despatch that on the day of Mr. Balcombe's departure from St. Helena he required his attendance in James Town, and, in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, asked him whether he had any other accounts or transactions

with the persons at Longwood than what were at that moment lying before the Governor at the close of his public and private accounts with the establishment there, which were to be left in the hands of his partner, Mr. Cole, to settle. He said that Mr. Balcombe, in the most solemn manner, assured him that he had had no other pecuniary transactions whatever with them than those of which the Governor was apprized. He was then asked if he had charged himself with or been asked to be the bearer of any communications whatever to Europe, for the persons at Longwood, or if his daughters, who had visited Longwood the day before, had charged themselves with any; in answer to which he gave the same solemn and distinct assurance in the negative.

Notwithstanding the improper mode in which the books had been sent, Sir Hudson Lowe forwarded them all to Longwood, and expressed his hope that the irregularity of their conveyance was not owing to any fault of those for whom they were designed.

Clandestine letters, however, were not the only means whereby the partizans of Napoleon sought to keep up a correspondence with him. The use of ciphers in newspapers was resorted to, in hopes that they might meet his eye and arrest his attention. On the 5th of March in the preceding year Lord Bathurst had thus written to the Governor:—

"My dear Sir,

"The Austrian Ambassador has transmitted to me the copy of another letter which appeared in the 'Anti-Gallican'[1] and which has been deciphered at Vienna. In a conversation which I had with his Excellency this morning, he showed me the two first letters deciphered, in both of which, if I recollect

[1] The 'Anti-Gallican' was a newspaper.

right, I am sure in one, is the advice given to General Bonaparté not to go to bed in the night. I cannot make out the true history of these letters, but I am inclined to suspect that there is not much in them which requires your attention. On the whole, however, I am disposed to think that you had better not let the 'Anti-Gallican' be communicated to him, and you will therefore do nothing on this subject (notwithstanding my late despatch marked 'confidential') in consequence of this communication, except perhaps taking some measure to ascertain whether there appears by his conduct any disposition to regulate his habits with a view to escape.

"He would, I think, take much more care of his health if he thought an escape probable. We may doubt his being as ill as he at times affects; but as he might appear as ill, and yet attend more to his health, I think the neglect of it is real, and proceeds from his considering his situation to be hopeless.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"BATHURST.

"There is reason to suspect that there are communications made to General Bonaparté by the channel of the 'Morning Chronicle' and 'Times.'"

CHAPTER XXII.

DIFFICULTIES CAUSED BY BONAPARTE'S REFUSAL TO SHOW HIMSELF TO THE ORDERLY OFFICER — INTERVIEWS AND CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND COUNT MONTHOLON — ALLEGED GRIEVANCES — ORDERLY OFFICER'S REPORTS — CARDINAL FESCH'S APPLICATION — CALUMNIOUS REMARKS OF O'MEARA AT ASCENSION ISLAND — SUSPICIOUS LETTER FROM THE CAPE.

The resolute determination of Bonaparte not to allow himself to be seen by the orderly officer made it necessary that some decisive steps should be taken. A whole fortnight had elapsed since he had given Captain Nicholls, who had succeeded Captain Blakeney, any opportunity of certifying the fact of his presence at Longwood; and the instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe from the English Government were precise and positive, that he should assure himself *twice every day* that Napoleon was actually there. He had strained courtesy and forbearance on this point beyond the limits which his duty warranted; but the systematic plan now pursued by Bonaparte of withdrawing himself from view rendered further connivance at such an evasion of the rule impossible. The Governor, therefore, accompanied by Major Gorrequer, called on Count Montholon on the 3rd of October, and had a long conversation with him on the subject.

He began by inquiring whether any answer had been returned by Bonaparte with reference to their last conversation, on which Montholon replied, "I will tell you candidly that the letter I was made to write the

very night after you came here was couched in terms so offensive that I did not think it right to send it to you as I had promised. It would only have been a fresh cause of irritation and bitterness; and there have been enough of discussions during the last six months without renewing them about a matter of no consequence —a piece of folly (*une bêtise*). I therefore thought it better to wait and see you, and speak frankly." The Governor said that he had no wish to know more than simply *yes* or *no*, whether Bonaparte still refused to see the orderly officer and the doctor. The Count replied that in that case he must answer in the negative; and a discussion arose, in which Montholon asserted that the Emperor did afford opportunities for his being seen, by drawing his curtains and coming to his window; but that he would never submit to show himself like a prisoner: such was his positive resolution. The Governor said that he had that morning received a report from the orderly officer, stating that he had no certainty of the presence of Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood; and he added that he (the Governor) had pushed delicacy to the extreme in this respect; he had always endeavoured to satisfy himself that he was at Longwood in a way not disagreeable to his feelings; and thinking that he might have been reluctant to show himself on account of the workmen employed on the new building, he had caused a wall of turf to be raised in order that he might not be incommoded by them. Count Montholon denied that the Emperor had any intention of concealing himself from view, and attributed his continued retirement to ill health. He said,—"He does not even care to see any of us; and if we did not go to see him of our own accord he would remain whole days alone. And then he has taken this mania for warm baths, of which he

sometimes takes three in a day, remaining in them for hours: his room is so hot as to throw one into a violent perspiration; there is always a fire there, and the windows are hardly ever open. The temperature there is at least 75 or 76 degrees; and all this weakens him. It seems even that the more it weakens him the more he perseveres in it." Sir Hudson Lowe replied that his orders were positive, and that it was absolutely necessary that Captain Nicholls should see Napoleon in some way or other. Count Montholon answered,—"It is a subject on which I cannot touch without putting him out of temper; it is the topic which irritates him most. The more I should seek to persuade him the more obstinate he would be. He is a man who, the more cannon you fire at him, the more he resists; it is only by gentle means that anything can be done with him." "But, Monsieur le Comte," said the Governor, "I don't fire any cannon at him; on the contrary, every one knows how far I have pushed delicacy on this subject, by refraining till now from insisting on the point." "I admit it, Monsieur le Gouverneur," replied Montholon, "and I render you full justice in this respect. The Emperor himself said, 'Well, he does his duty;' but as it is a subject on which I know he will become irritated, I had rather you would write to me, and I will send you his answer in like manner."

Some allusion was then made to O'Meara, and the Governor mentioned that a letter had arrived at St. Helena, after that person's departure, addressed to him under a feigned name, in which he was advised to endeavour to persuade Bonaparte to take exercise, and be careful of his health. The Count exclaimed, "How, Monsieur le Gouverneur! a letter addressed to Dr. O'Meara under a false name! You surprise me; and why this mystery?" He then argued against the

possibility of any plot or intrigue being carried on at St. Helena without being discovered, saying that he was certain that even if an attempt were made to get the Emperor off—and he were told that a boat was ready for him to embark in—he would refuse, for he would never go away like an adventurer, but would act as he did at Rochefort when he declined to try and escape, and declared that he would not thus tarnish his career.

Sir Hudson Lowe made a remark about the false impressions which Bonaparte seemed to have on his mind respecting the English, on which Count Montholon shortly observed, "It is Count Las Cases;" and there is no doubt that this person was the author of much mischief, for his previous residence in England, and acquaintance (though imperfect) with the language, had given him an influence with Napoleon which he seems never to have exerted for any good purpose, and his misrepresentations of English customs and modes of acting, if not wilful, were ridiculous. He also did considerable harm by misinterpreting expressions in conversation, and even Napoleon on one occasion declared that he was satisfied that the Count did not sufficiently understand the language to avoid misleading him.

With respect to O'Meara, Count Montholon said that he was from the first convinced that the doctor gave an account to the Governor of all that happened at Longwood. "As he lodged close to me, and as I saw him always writing from the moment he entered his room, I strongly suspected what he was about; and he would have been the very last person to whom I would have confided anything. I said to myself,—'Well, it is his profession;' but I was astonished to see the Emperor place so much confidence in him as to speak to him in the way he did."

Inquiry had been made about some books which the Governor had lent for perusal at Longwood, and which were missing. In the course of the conversation Count Montholon declared that they had all been sent to O'Meara for the purpose of being forwarded to Plantation House, and that he particularly recollected having seen one of them in his possession after it had been returned to him, as upon the margin of one of the pages "the Emperor" had written some remark, which O'Meara had requested he would read to him, as he could not decipher it himself. This he accordingly did; "and perhaps he might," added Count Montholon, "have kept it from curiosity, on account of the note." The Governor observed that was no reason for his purloining the book itself, which belonged to him. After a few words more of desultory conversation he and Major Gorrequer took leave.

Captain Nicholls still reported his inability to get a sight of Napoleon, and on the 5th Sir Hudson Lowe again visited Count Montholon and told him of this. The Count replied,—"I am astonished; for the day before yesterday, immediately after your departure, and while I was yet speaking with Major Gorrequer, the Emperor sent for me. We went together into the billiard-room, where we walked for an hour and a half with the windows open, and from which we even saw Dr. Verling go by. The Emperor, on seeing him, asked me whether that was the captain or the doctor? and I told him it was the latter. I subsequently asked Dr. Verling if he had not seen us; he said No, that he had not looked that way, that he had intentionally turned his head away. I repeated to the Emperor what you told me the other day; his reply was, 'What would he have? does he want me to go out when I am ill? I do not hide myself from any

one. I have changed none of my habits, nor do I mean to change them; my manner of living is always the same. I perceive that for some time past they no longer examine the servants and the workpeople, and do not watch me from under my windows. That they should have desisted from this gives me pleasure. When the fine weather returns and my health is better, I will go out as usual. Can I go out while I am suffering, and during such bad weather? It is no very agreeable thing to deprive myself of fresh air, of the little liberty which is allowed me here, and to shut myself up in my room. I conceal myself from no one; I have no intention to do so: what then do they want? do they wish some catastrophe to happen? If it be any innovation, any new regulation, let them inform me of it in writing.'" The Governor answered that it was no innovation, but that there now appeared to be a system established to prevent the orderly officer from seeing Bonaparte; that Captain Nicholls had only seen him once; that, whenever the officer was perceived, the blinds were instantly drawn across the windows, and all opportunity of getting a glimpse of him was thus prevented. He added that Captain Nicholls was under the impression, notwithstanding the assurance of Count Montholon to the contrary, that Napoleon strove to conceal himself, and said that Captains Poppleton and Blakeney had also complained of the difficulty of seeing him. Montholon replied that there was no such design, but that the Emperor was prostrated, in bad health, and in the deepest affliction. He continued,—"If I speak to him on this subject it provokes and irritates him, and he then makes use of terms and words that are very disagreeable to me, and would be equally offensive to you were I to re-

peat them. When I spoke to him about it the other day, he ended with a scene. He exclaimed, 'Well then, they want to assassinate me!' He has always that idea in his head."

The Governor said, "These expressions which he so often makes use of go for nothing; they do him no good; on the contrary, he does himself harm by them. My character is too well known for any one to imagine that I take delight in persecuting him. It is not possible for me to show greater delicacy and care to avoid anything that may be disagreeable to him than by coming here to you twice, as I have done, to see if there were any means of coming to an arrangement instead of writing to you officially; and you will perceive that on this point there cannot be two opinions. I see no use in writing. What can I say to you beyond this,—that the orders of my Government are that I satisfy myself twice a-day of his actual presence here, and that it is necessary that I should cause these orders to be punctually executed? It is for the express purpose of preventing that extremity that I have come to speak with you on the subject, and in order to avoid more extreme measures." After some further discussion the Governor ended the conversation by saying,—"I do not in any way pretend, Monsieur le Comte, to insist upon Napoleon Bonaparte's receiving visits. He is master in his own interior to receive those only whom he pleases. I do not interfere in the least with this; but the orderly officer is charged with a duty of great responsibility, and he must have the means of performing it."

Two days afterwards Major Gorrequer, at Count Montholon's request, called upon him, and another long conversation took place between them which led to no result. The Count professed to be unable to under-

stand the object of the Governor's last two visits. Major Gorrequer replied that it seemed very easy to understand, and the Governor had fully explained himself on the subject of the orderly officer's report that he could not see Bonaparte, and that it was impossible for him to satisfy himself of his presence at Longwood. He added that Sir Hudson Lowe wished Napoleon to show himself in the way most agreeable to himself, and that he had preferred speaking to writing, as he thought the matter might be thereby more easily arranged. To this Montholon replied, "Yes, Sir, I have seen with pleasure that the Governor has been most considerate in his conversations on this subject; but when I go to the Emperor and speak to him about it, he puts himself into a passion, and seems to apprehend something disastrous—something dreadful: he exclaims, 'They want then to assassinate me.' I am, in fact, placed between two twenty-four pounders. He was in a passion with me again yesterday, and said very disagreeable things to me when I spoke to him about it. He repeated to me, 'I hide myself from no one. I do not affect to keep my room. I am not acting upon any plan. When I go out I may be seen; I do not conceal myself from the sight of anybody.'" Count Montholon afterwards said,—"I endeavour to make him see things in a better light and get rid of these ideas; but what would you have me say to a person who speaks to me as he does? I am very far myself from approving the life he leads—his refusal to take exercise—to ride on horseback—to see any one, even the doctor—to persist all the more when recommended to change his habits. How, the devil! not to call in a doctor when one is ill is to punish oneself—it is ridiculous. All these things are childish, pure follies. He is seldom up more than two or three

hours a-day; he is so used to this that it has now become a necessity for him to remain long in bed. He becomes weak in body—his blood thickens—he declines daily. The habit of remaining in bed becomes an absolute necessity. Then he is in a bad humour, sulky; his temper is soured and irritable. Let the fine weather come, and I don't say that he will not then walk out in his garden as formerly. Would you wish him to go out in the rain to show himself?"

The Count proceeded at some length in this strain, and Major Gorrequer told him that he would have been much better pleased if, on his return to Sir Hudson Lowe, he could have informed him that the orderly officer had seen Bonaparte. After an abortive discussion, in which Count Montholon said that the Emperor had received from the Prince Regent the assurance that his privacy should never be violated, the conversation terminated, and the Major took leave.

The next day the Governor called upon Count Montholon, and said he had done so in consequence of what Major Gorrequer had reported to him of the interview that had taken place between them the preceding day. The Governor said he understood that the Count, not having fully comprehended his object in their last conferences, required further explanation, which he was ready to give him. It appeared there was an impression that he was desirous of introducing some innovation, but it was not the case; and, to prove to him it was not a new system he was seeking to establish, but an arrangement made before his arrival here, he referred him to two written papers, one of which contained Sir George Cockburn's instructions to the orderly officer on the 10th of November 1815. Count Montholon read them and expressed himself satisfied that no innovation or change

was intended; that it was only the execution of an arrangement made on their first arrival in the island; adding, that he perceived the Governor had not acted upon it from motives of delicacy. The latter said that that was not exactly the reason; the fact was, that until now there had not, in reality, been any immediate necessity for it, for whilst O'Meara was at Longwood there was always an opportunity of ascertaining Napoleon Bonaparte's presence there through him, and for a long time also through the persons who visited him. Besides, until a short time ago, there were English servants in the house and people employed in the garden; but since he had dismissed the servants, and the workmen had been removed because he complained of their intrusiveness, there were no means left for ascertaining that he was actually at Longwood. Since that time, therefore, his position had very materially changed. Sir Hudson Lowe added that the orderly officer's last report was the same as before, viz. that he had not yet seen Bonaparte. Count Montholon replied that it was extraordinary he had not, for that very morning he had been walking up and down with the Emperor in his room, and Captain Nicholls passed by at that moment, and, having seen him, the Emperor asked him (Montholon) who it was, and, drawing his curtain aside, placed himself opposite the window, where he remained some time. On this the Governor said, "Well, Monsieur le Comte, you will not persuade him that they do not try to prevent him, and I give you my word that I have myself twice observed that, when I approached the house, the curtains, which were before open, were immediately closed." Montholon then talked about replacing things upon their original footing, when the Governor begged him to point out

wherein they differed, for he himself was not aware of any alteration. "In the mode of persons visiting us," said the Count, "forwarding notes direct to their address, and cards of invitation." The Governor observed that, with regard to forwarding notes sealed, it was a point which had been fully discussed, and in that there could be no alteration made; with respect to visitors, he would willingly enter into some arrangement with him about it. Count Montholon made light of the importance which had been attached on their part to the notes being sent sealed, saying, "In God's name, why attach so much importance to it, when one consents to writing open letters to one's friends and one's family, &c.? this is mere nonsense (niaiseries)." The Governor afterwards said that, having heard from Major Gorrequer that Count Montholon had mentioned that the Prince Regent had given an assurance that the interior of Napoleon Bonaparte's house should never be violated, he would take the liberty of asking how that assurance was communicated. The Count replied that the Emperor had told him such a promise had been made by the Prince Regent, but he did not name to him the channel—it might have been on board the Bellerophon, at a time when he did not enter into any of those discussions. The Governor expressed his surprise that such an assurance had been given, and that he should never before have heard it; it could not have been made known to Sir George Cockburn; and he had a letter from Earl Bathurst (a copy of which he handed to him) dated the 26th of June 1816, wherein he would find under what rules he was directed to act in that respect. Montholon read the letter and returned it, saying, "I see in fact that you require only what your instructions prescribe."

After some discussion about the choice of a medical attendant, Count Montholon said he believed one might be found on the island who would prove agreeable, and added, "The basis once established and ourselves agreed, all difficulties, I repeat it, would vanish; he would see you himself." "I put myself quite out of the question," replied the Governor; "but it is absolutely necessary that I should be enabled to send a report to my Government, by the vessel that is about to sail, of his (Napoleon's) actual presence at Longwood, of which I have not received any positive assurance by persons who have seen him." The Count then assured Sir Hudson that Captain Nicholls should see Bonaparte the next day before four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued, "The Emperor had cause to be greatly displeased at what was reported to him by Dr. O'Meara, who told him that you had ordered him to repeat everything he heard, and to give you an account of everything that happened here; in fact, that he was to be a spy, and that, because he refused, you had prohibited him from speaking to us on any subject but medicine—that he was merely allowed to feel our pulse; that if he engaged in any kind of conversation with us it would be at his peril, and that he was obliged to tell you of it." The Governor answered that all that was absolutely false; and Count Montholon said that he gave the fullest credit to the Governor's assurance.

The Governor then related the directions he had given to O'Meara, and explained that he had not forbidden him to converse on other subjects than professional ones, but had told him that any other conversation was on his own responsibility, as he could not of course authorise what he did not know of; that he had never required him to repeat what passed;

that O'Meara had sometimes repeated things he had heard, *but spontaneously;* and that, notwithstanding the anxiety O'Meara showed for a length of time to repeat to him what had been said, he did not particularly encourage it; but, he asked, what would Count Montholon think of O'Meara after knowing that he acknowledged, after thus coming open-mouthed (*la bouche ouverte*) with his reports, that he had pledged himself to Napoleon Bonaparte not to reveal what passed in conversation between them? Sir Hudson said that the knowledge of this pledge was concealed from him for two years; and that, after hearing of it, he never asked him a question. It appeared in fact that he had formed one contract with his Government, and another with Count Bertrand. "Well then," answered Count Montholon, "I would say that he was a rascal; that you have acted like a man of honour, and he like a man void of principle; and that you were perfectly right in saying that all that passed beyond his medical reports was on his own responsibility. But I was never the dupe of Mr. O'Meara. I saw clearly through all his manœuvres. I knew that he often wrote to you the reports of conversations he had had with us."

The Governor afterwards said, that in his opinion it would be better to leave things as they were for the present, and make no change until an answer arrived from the English Government with respect to the application he had made for a French or Italian doctor. He remarked that only two medical persons had been admitted to familiar conversations with Napoleon in the island, and it was very evident the object of both was to publish the information they were thus enabled to collect: one of these was Mr. Warden, whose book did not contain a word on medical subjects—the other,

Mr. O'Meara, who stated, in a letter he had seen, that it was his intention to publish a journal, which he said would be highly useful to the British nation in general.

After some further conversation, in which the subject of the orderly officer's difficulties was again discussed, Count Montholon gave his assurance that Captain Nicholls should see the Emperor the following day, and the Governor took leave.

Sir Hudson Lowe called on General Montholon again the next day, and had another long interview with him. Nothing could be more plausible than the language and demeanour of the Count during these repeated conversations, and apparently there was little real difference of opinion between himself and the Governor as to the line of conduct which ought to be pursued by the latter. It would be tedious to give a detailed account of all that passed on these occasions, full minutes of which were taken by Major Gorrequer and still exist; for it is not worth while to record at length conversations on subjects which, though at the time of importance to the parties concerned, can excite only a faint interest now, and it is better to direct our attention to those parts of them which serve to illustrate the character and conduct of the Governor of St. Helena and his great Captive.

At this interview Sir Hudson declared, as he had done the preceding day, that the whole of what O'Meara had asserted as to his having been ordered to repeat to the Governor everything mentioned in conversation was false; and he said that it was most false that O'Meara had ever been countenanced in any manner as a spy; that he (Sir Hudson) never had expressed to him any desire to know what was said to him on past events, but, on the contrary, repeatedly

told him he did not require to know such matters, however interesting they might have been to him to hear them. He had indeed told O'Meara that he had not his authority for communicating upon other subjects than those of a professional nature, as he (the Governor) of course could not give his sanction to conversations of the purport of which he was ignorant, and which might relate to his duties as Governor, or other matters of a nature improper for discussion unless he were informed of them. Count Montholon fully assented to this; and the Governor went on to say that O'Meara was a person full of pretension, who had instilled very false notions, and done a great deal of harm at Longwood, and that it was only out of consideration for the personage residing there that he had not sent the doctor away from the island more than a year ago; but he wished to avoid depriving Bonaparte of his services. On this Montholon observed, "As for O'Meara, he is just the man to be always placing himself in a false position; he cannot help it; he must be always stirring, always agitating, always doing something. He wanted to pick up some anecdotes, some information, some details which were little known, probably to make a book of them, and publish them; to make some profit by them; to make money."

The Governor then remarked that Count Las Cases had also caused much irritation, and had done a great deal of harm by representing matters in false points of view. Amongst other instances he mentioned the sentiment attributed by Las Cases to Napoleon, when he said, "The Emperor cannot bear the sight of a red coat." Count Montholon laughed at this, and pledged himself that an expression of that kind had never been uttered by the Emperor, and that the idea

never could have existed but in the mind of Las Cases. He added, "Monsieur le Gouverneur, if you could see what he has dictated on the subject of the British soldiers, the justice which he does them, and which he takes pleasure in doing them, his admiration of their valour, you would have a very different idea of this; could he express himself thus of the soldiers he esteems?" The conversation then turned on the question of granting passes to persons wishing to visit Longwood, and the Governor said, "I have never refused granting a pass; on the contrary, I have even been too easy on this point, and have granted them to persons who begged earnestly for permission to visit Longwood, and who really were not persons of that rank in society which you could take any pleasure in receiving, and I may add what I wrote to Lord Bathurst on this subject: that if the names of all those who had received passes from me to visit Longwood were published in the papers, that would fully justify me."

Some discussion then took place respecting an extension of the limits within which Bonaparte might ride, after having previously informed the orderly officer of his intention, and then the conversation terminated after Count Montholon had said, "Well, Monsieur le Gouverneur, I really hope that all will now be settled to our mutual satisfaction—that all our discussions may end here, and that we may establish a lasting peace, which is very much desired, I assure you. You will always find me ready to do you justice whenever you may wish to give us the opportunity; there has never been anything really serious between us. We have been building up a partition wall between us about trifles. I will give an account to the Emperor of this conversation, and I

do not doubt that we shall now come to a perfect understanding on all the points we have discussed."

After quitting Count Montholon the Governor went to Captain Nicholls, and, having conversed with him, he sent back Major Gorrequer to say that the orderly officer was still unable to see Bonaparte, and that it was absolutely necessary that he should do so before a vessel which was about to sail to-morrow, or the day after, left St. Helena. The Count professed himself much disappointed that the orderly officer had not seen the Emperor that morning, saying that he had sent his children to play in the small flower-garden before the windows, on purpose to give the officer an opportunity of seeing him, and that the Emperor had placed himself at the window, and spoken to the children. He added, that as soon as dinner was over he would send them again to try and bring Napoleon to the window, though it was not usual to do it at that hour, and the Emperor therefore might suspect his purpose and be angry with him; but that every fine day between twelve and two o'clock the children would always be playing there, when the orderly officer might try and obtain a sight of Napoleon.

On the 12th another interview took place at Longwood between the same parties, and Count Montholon stated, that, having rendered an account to the Emperor of the several subjects that had been discussed between them, the latter had said that he desired nothing better than to come to an amicable understanding (*accommodement*), and had charged him to ask the Governor in what light he regarded him? whether as a prisoner of war, or in what character he was to be treated? "These are details," continued the Count, "which in appearance are of little importance; but it nevertheless annoys and vexes

him, and they are subjects of humiliation to us also." He then explained that, before they could send their linen[1] or anything else to the wash, they were obliged to obtain the orderly officer's permission, and the articles were subject to his inspection. He mentioned also other details, which he characterized as a kind of "Inquisition."

The Governor said, he should continue of course to consider them, as he had always done, prisoners of war; that with respect to the inspection of any article by the orderly officer at Longwood, he would see if some arrangement could be made to avoid any delay or inconvenience from it; he had himself given no order about the linen, and the custom had originated he supposed with the orderly officer, who had thought it necessary in the execution of his duties. Captain Nicholls had just mentioned to him that he had not been in the habit of examining the linen,

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[1] "It has been since ascertained that neither Captain Nicholls nor any of his predecessors had exercised any particular inspection over the linen, although the trunks (generally very large ones) in which it may have been brought or carried away, like every other article brought by the servants, might be subject to the officer's examination. The complaint made does not diminish, in any respect, from the necessity of leaving such power in his hands, whilst it may even present a motive for it being more frequently exercised—in the manner, however, least unpleasant to them. The distance between Longwood and the town being five miles, and the road much frequented, particularly whilst the building is going on, the *right* of inspection on the spot cannot be dispensed with."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer, says, "All parcels and boxes were brought to me previously to their being sent away from Longwood to the persons to whom they were addressed. The linen sent to the washerwoman was put into the cart that daily attended, sometimes in front of my quarters, and at other times at the houses of the individuals. *It was never examined by me or any other person, nor did I receive any orders to that effect from the Governor.* The linen, when returned, as soon as reported to me by the carter to have arrived, I desired to be delivered immediately without examination. General Bonaparte's linen was never even brought to my quarters, but was sent and received by his own servant."

though it was true, before the box or bundles containing it were taken away, his permission was asked. All these details however, he said, appeared to him to be more questions of form than of principle, and depended a great deal on the mode employed by those charged with the execution. Count Montholon then complained of the constant attendance and *surveillance* of the orderly officer. The Governor replied that the best course for them to adopt, on those occasions where his presence was necessary, was to consider the orderly officer as a companion, in the same way as General Gourgaud did, who never was quitted by an officer, after leaving Longwood, until he embarked. Montholon afterwards said, "The want of due forms affects the Emperor more than the thing itself—it is everything with him; observe due form, and you may do with him whatever you please. Madame Bertrand wishes to have a cap, a handkerchief: she cannot get it as quickly as she would—that puts her into a rage—she excites her husband, who does the same by the Emperor, and he gets into the greatest fury (jusqu'au 36° de furie)."

Montholon complained of other petty annoyances, and Sir Hudson answered, that the rules had been broken through, and more attention had become necessary in enforcing them, but it was always his wish and desire to adopt the forms which were the least unpleasant to them; the sentries, who formerly watched the immediate approaches to Longwood, had, to remove the pretext of their preventing Bonaparte from taking exercise, been withdrawn, and this had led to an inspection of articles when they arrived at the house; and the orderly officer must necessarily exercise his discretion on such occasions.

Count Montholon next inquired respecting the

extent and direction of the space of ground in which, by giving previous notice, the Emperor would be permitted to ride unaccompanied, and asked, how long before he went in that direction it would be necessary to make it known to the orderly officer. The Governor said, he thought the space he should select would be found the pleasantest in the island; he would, however, ride over it with Count Montholon. He added, that it was ample for exercise, but he requested that, if Napoleon wished at any time to proceed beyond it, in that case he would allow himself to be accompanied by some English officer, and if an hour and a half's notice, or thereabouts, was given to the orderly officer before he went out, it would be enough.

The Governor then thanked the Count for the attention he had shown the orderly officer in facilitating his seeing Napoleon.

In the course of conversation, when speaking on the subject of that officer's inspection of things brought to Longwood, the Governor remarked, that it had been his intention to direct the same rule to be observed towards O'Meara; on which Count Montholon said, "Ah! Monsieur le Gouverneur, I wish much that you had done so, for he almost ruined me. He never went to James Town without bringing me all sorts of baubles and little ornaments, which I had no need of, and which he bought without my permission, and in that way he spent my money."

At a subsequent interview the following day (the 15th) Count Montholon made another ineffectual attempt to induce the Governor to relax the rule which prohibited the French at Longwood from sending or receiving sealed letters in their correspondence with persons resident in the island, and he insisted that

prisoners of war in all countries had the right to do this within the space allotted to them. He said that the Emperor had declared, when he related to him what had passed at their last conversation, that "he could not allow any variation in his rights as a prisoner of war; for from the moment he lost one of them he would find himself subjected to arbitrary measures and no longer know where he was. Although he had protested against his detention as a prisoner of war for political reasons, and although he acknowledged no authority over his person, either on the part of England or any other power, nevertheless, as his situation was the result of a battle, and it would have been useless to contend against the decision of the principal powers of Europe, against the opinion of the English Parliament, and by consequence that of the English nation, he had given way to circumstances: he would not give up one of the rights conceded to prisoners of war, but would claim the very least of them. If he were a state prisoner he might very properly be denied all communication; but he never would consent to be transformed from a prisoner of war into a state prisoner."

Sir Hudson Lowe told the Count he was convinced that the suggestion about the sealed correspondence came from Marshal Bertrand, because he had lately ordered a letter to be written to him returning one which had been irregularly and improperly sent sealed by the Marshal direct to Mr. Ibbetson, who acted as the banker of the French at Longwood; and he said with warmth, "Monsieur le Comte, I must speak plainly on this subject. If it had not been entirely out of consideration for *him* (Napoleon), and also consideration for Madame la Comtesse and her family, Count Bertrand would no longer be here; he would have left the island long since. I will not, therefore,

yield on this point to satisfy the pretensions of a person who is only here on sufferance on account of others. The instructions of my Government authorise me to be much more strict towards the persons of the *suite* than I have yet been. Although I have also had reason sometimes to complain of *you*, still, as you have since shown a desire to conciliate, and have not persisted like Count Bertrand, I wished to efface all memory of that (*passer une éponge sur cela*)."

The conversation then turned on the subject of the extension of the limits allowed to Napoleon, when Count Montholon said that, even if the Emperor did not go out, he could always occupy himself within doors, and he was then employed in making notes on the campaigns of Alexander and Cæsar.

The next day (the 16th) Count Montholon told Sir Hudson Lowe that he had given the Emperor an account of their last conversation, who said, "It appears that they desire I should go out, that I should take exercise; that they take an interest in my adopting my former habits. I desire nothing better myself: I will go out, will walk, will ride on horseback with pleasure; I have need of it: and I will recommence the mode of life that I followed the first nine months after my arrival here. But, first of all, confidence must be restored to me. Let me see a fixed system, not subject to arbitrary changes; that I may say to myself, To-morrow I will do as I did to-day; that I may regulate my occupations, and that the rule be not changed from day to day; in a word, that the order once established may be fixed for ever. I confided in the arrangements made by Admiral Cockburn, because at least I saw stability in them, and I understood them; restore to me the same confidence."[1]

[1] Let the reader, however, refer to the language used by Napoleon, and

Sir Hudson replied that he was not aware of any wide difference between the arrangements made by Sir George Cockburn and his own, and that the Admiral saw the necessity of some changes before he himself arrived at St. Helena, and told him of his intention to make them, advising him to do so.

He continued, "If I should be so unfortunate as to be thought more severe than Admiral Cockburn, I shall be ever ready to discuss before the whole world the principles that have guided my conduct. If there be a determination to draw a parallel between me and Admiral Cockburn, I am not afraid of meeting any question on that subject: there is no difference between our systems; all that can be said is, perhaps, that I have caused a more strict observance of the regulations. I certainly am interested in the safe custody of the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, as much from duty as upon principle. I am also interested in his comfort, and that he enjoy everything that is compatible with the security of his person; but I will not sacrifice to this last object any part of my duties, either in principle or in fact. My position is very delicate, it cannot be more so. If I be suspected of ill-treating him, or of exercising unnecessary rigour, there are people enough in the world to cry out against me. If I show him indulgence, it will be said, 'He is caught like the rest.' I am therefore resolved to maintain my independence in both respects; I shall not therefore make any change in the existing regulations; they are the basis on which I found my conduct; they are my law."

Count Montholon said, "I confess, Monsieur le Gou-

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by Bertrand at his dictation, respecting Sir George Cockburn, before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe (*ante*, vol. i. pp. 63, 68-9), and he will see what kind of confidence was then placed in the Admiral.

verneur, I do not think there is at this moment any person in the world who is placed in a position more delicate than you are." He afterwards said, "You will ever find me ready to do you justice; the Emperor also does you justice whenever you offer him the opportunity. He has seen with pleasure your care and attention towards him in erecting that wall of earth round the new building, that he might not be incommoded by the sight of the men at work; and he directed me the other day (what I forgot to tell you before) to testify to you, on his part, that he was sensible of this. You have surprised us by the works that are carrying on for some time past. I would never have thought that you could, in so short a time, have done what you have, that it was possible at St. Helena, and [I wonder] how you have found the means. As for myself, I have not yet seen how the house gets on, but Count Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, who overlook it from their residence, said it went on very quickly, and that it already began to make an appearance; but I have observed, and so has the Emperor, all the constructions and preparations you have effected for hastening the work. Indeed you have done great things; do you think you can provide us with any shade? but after the extraordinary efforts we have witnessed, I should not be surprised to hear that you had brought thither full-grown trees.[1] I am pleased also," added the Count, "to do you justice on another subject, that is to say the provisioning of the house, in which

[1] In Las Cases' famous letter of the 19th December, 1816 (vol. ii. pp. 279-313), he calls an expression of the Governor, "*on plantera des arbres*," a *mot affreux*, as implying that the confinement of Napoleon would last until the trees grew up and afforded shade. And the same expression has been quoted in this country as a proof of Sir Hudson Lowe's heartlessness; but surely it would be more charitable to suppose, (*if he ever used the words at all*,) that no such idea was in his mind at the time, but that he alluded to the transplanting of full-grown trees as Montholon suggests in the text.

you have shown every kind of attention, and which is now effected with a degree of regularity unknown to us before. If I were called upon to express my sentiments on this subject I would say that the service of the house has never been so well managed as it is now, and has been for a long time; that we were never so abundantly supplied as we are now (not even at first), and have nothing to wish for in this respect; and that since our arrival it was only during a short time, on occasion of the retrenchments which you were obliged to make in consequence of the orders of your Government, that we felt a deficiency of anything."

On the 21st the Governor called again on Count Montholon and informed him of an act of Bertrand which had just come to his knowledge, and which he said was by no means in conformity with the spirit of the communications he had lately had with Montholon himself. It seems that Count Bertrand, accompanied by the Countess, had a few days before ridden out in the direction of Mason's Stock House (the most remote post of the cordon of sentries), where an officer was on guard. They entered his guard-room, and began immediately to converse with him about O'Meara, who was known to be an intimate friend of the officer. Bertrand said that O'Meara was now in England, where he would meet with justice for the ill-treatment he had experienced here; adding, that he was an innocent man, and would be supported by ministers on his arrival at home. The officer replied that he himself would suffer from his intimacy with O'Meara; on which the Count said that no harm would ever result to him from being the friend of that person. Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of Bertrand in thus sounding the dispositions of subaltern officers, and seducing them

from their duty by reflections on their superiors. Count Montholon expressed much surprise at this intelligence, and said it would be much better if Bertrand would not walk about and converse with the officers as he was in the habit of doing; and he added, "The Emperor certainly knows nothing about it."

The Governor then left, and after an interval of three days returned to Longwood, accompanied by Major Gorrequer, and told Montholon the decision at which he had arrived on the various subjects which had been discussed between them. He said, "Having reflected on the subjects of the various conversations which have passed between us for some time, I have thought that it would perhaps be expected that I should adopt some other measures, or make some change in consequence; and under this impression I have come to repeat to you, first, that I am ready to point out to you the space which I have determined on beyond the boundary for exercise on horseback (by giving previous intimation to the orderly officer), by either accompanying you myself, or sending an officer to show it you. I have also examined my instructions, and, during the summer months, General Bonaparte will be free, should he be beyond the enclosure, not to return till nine o'clock in the evening, taking care always to come in by the barrier of the Guard-house, in order that he may be seen by the officer. As for the persons admitted to visit, I showed you a list the other day containing more than sixty names, among which you may choose fifty; they are the principal persons of the island, civil and military; and you know how limited society is in so small a place (where there is hardly any one beyond the military), the inhabitants associating little among themselves. I would wish, therefore, not to have to determine this list

myself; it would seem as if I wished to oblige him (Napoleon) to receive certain persons; but I can inform those whose names are on the list that they are free to visit at Longwood without being obliged to have a pass for that purpose." Count Montholon said, "I think that will be better. As for myself, I should be very much embarrassed to make out a list. I know what the society of St. Helena is, and the list you showed me would comprise all the persons of note."

Sir Hudson Lowe then expressed a hope that General Bonaparte would no longer hesitate to consult the medical officer in attendance if he required his services; but Montholon frankly replied that on this point the Emperor had not explained himself, and that, though he had repeatedly urged him to come to some resolution on the subject, he had no idea yet of the nature of his determination. After some further conversation respecting the conduct of Count Bertrand to Colonel Lyster, and other matters of no particular interest, the Governor proposed to have Napoleon's carriage repaired and made serviceable until another arrived from England, and offered in the mean time the use of his own whenever he preferred carriage exercise. Count Montholon, however, said that it was not worth repairing; and that at all events the Emperor preferred riding on horseback, to which he always had recourse in France when he felt himself unwell.

In a private letter to Earl Bathurst dated the 14th of October, Sir Hudson Lowe entered into the question of his conduct towards O'Meara. He said,—

"There are three points upon which I have conceived Mr. O'Meara may endeavour to raise a voice in his favour:—

"Firstly, he may say I wanted to employ him as a

spy. Exclusive of his having acted as a voluntary, and, what is worse, as a *double* spy, it is to be observed I never asked him to give me any other information than what he had been in the habit of carrying to Sir George Cockburn, and this I asked him even in Sir George's presence; since when even Count Montholon has acknowledged I had a right to expect being informed of any discussions into which he might enter with General Bonaparte respecting my duties or his own, or of any improper communications going on. But even on these points I ceased to question him when I found the pledges he had entered into.

"Secondly, he may say, [ask?] why, if I had complaints against him, I did not bring them to a hearing? The complaints against him were of such a nature as that, if proved, I could not have suffered him to remain on the island without the worst effect of example, from a supposed impunity, upon the officers and inhabitants in general; and having received his resignation, reporting to Government General Bonaparte's application for a French or Italian physician to succeed him, I considered it best, unless he should himself apply to the Admiral, to let matters rest until the answer of Government should be received, for which the want of Mr. Boys's evidence, as the conclusive one in the case to be most directly brought against him, afforded sufficient ground.

"Thirdly, he may complain of my general mode of treatment towards him. If, through consideration to the very particular circumstances of General Bonaparte's situation, I was induced to act with a moderation and apparent lenity towards Mr. O'Meara which I could not have done towards any other individual, this was no reason I should at the same time continue to him those personal regards as an officer and a gen-

tleman, which his conduct and proceedings had appeared to me to destroy all claim to. I never, therefore, suffered him to enter my house, except by the outer door of it, which leads to the secretary's office; and whenever he attempted to manifest any impertinence in his replies to my interrogatories, dismissed him immediately from my presence. He felt this, but never made any complaint to the Admiral, to whom he was *five times distinctly* referred on such and other grounds.

"The last discoveries will, however, best expose his character and conduct; and it is only to preceding circumstances, therefore, if any too hasty opinion should have been formed upon them, the above reasoning applies."

The seclusion in which Napoleon at this time kept himself, and his refusal to see Dr. Verling or any other medical man, made it difficult to obtain any accurate account of the state of his health and spirits, and the only information we can give respecting them is gleaned from such notices in the orderly officer's journal as the following:—"Oct. 4. To-day Dr. Verling had some conversation with Montholon, who said that Napoleon was grown very peevish, and his faculties (of dictating his history) were greatly impaired, and that he was grown very indolent." On the evening of the 7th "Madame Montholon paid a visit to Napoleon, splendidly dressed in full court costume." On the 10th "Bonaparte appeared at his dressing-room window with a red handkerchief round his head. He continued there a considerable time talking to Madame Montholon and the children, who were in the garden. His countenance appeared excessively cadaverous and ghastly." 15th, "Napoleon was walking in his garden this afternoon about five o'clock; he had

a handkerchief tied about his head, and was in his dressing-gown. Saw him from Deadwood barracks through a telescope; he appeared very pale. Serjeant Lacey was very near him, and told me the General came out of his house whistling, and seemed in good spirits."

During the month of November Napoleon's health and spirits seem to have varied. But it was impossible to ascertain the fact accurately, as nothing would induce him to admit the visits of Dr. Verling or any other medical man. We must therefore still rely upon the reports and journal of Captain Nicholls, the orderly officer, who described him on several occasions as looking out of his dressing-room window with a countenance very ghastly. At one time he was seen in his front verandah for a short time "in excellent spirits, whistling;" at another, "whistling and humming a tune."

In the course of the month Sir Hudson Lowe received a letter from Lord Bathurst, dated the 10th of August, 1818, which mentioned that Cardinal Fesch (Napoleon's uncle) had applied to the Prince Regent for permission to procure and send out to St. Helena a Roman Catholic priest to attend on the exile. Lord Bathurst said that His Royal Highness saw no reason to withhold his assent, and he instructed Sir Hudson to take an early opportunity of communicating to Bonaparte that, "Cardinal Fesch having represented to the Pope the desire of General Bonaparte to have a priest resident at Longwood in whom he may confide, the General having stated himself to be unavoidably prevented from fulfilling the duties imposed upon him by the religion which he professes, and deprived of the essential comforts which, according to the tenets of his faith, may be derived from a partici-

pation of the sacraments, the Prince Regent had signified his consent that Cardinal Fesch should, agreeably to the wishes of General Bonaparte, select a priest for that purpose, and that this priest would have permission to reside at Longwood, subject to such conditions as it might be necessary for him previously to subscribe." Lord Bathurst added, that, as Bonaparte expressed a desire to have a French surgeon of known reputation attached to the establishment at Longwood, and to be provided with a cook in whom he might be able to place confidence, he had made known his wishes to Cardinal Fesch, and left it to him to select the proper persons, who would proceed to St. Helena in company with the Roman Catholic priest, and under similar engagements as to the restriction of their communication and intercourse with the inhabitants of the island.

In the course of a conversation which took place early in December between Count Montholon and Major Gorrequer, respecting some books which were expected at Longwood from England, the Count said that the books which Bonaparte most wanted were those of an historical and military nature, such as related to the French revolution and other political events; to his own campaigns, the campaigns of Frederick the Great, the histories of Cæsar and Alexander, and other similar works. "The Emperor," he added, "always writes his life at intervals, when he finds himself in the humour." When the Governor was informed of the wishes of Napoleon, he immediately sent to Longwood some books from his own library of the description required, and desired Major Gorrequer to make it known that he would be happy to attend to any further suggestions on the same subject.

In a note from Rear-Admiral Plampin to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 13th of December, he mentioned that O'Meara had accused the Governor behind his back of a design to take away Bonaparte's life. The Admiral's opinion of the man's character and veracity will appear from the following passage in his letter:—

"Young Blackwood, the son of the Admiral Sir Henry, who is a Midshipman of the Favourite, at present at the Briars for two or three days, tells me that that impudent vagabond O'Meara said publicly at Ascension that 'had he obeyed your orders Napoleon Bonaparte would not then have been alive'—a precious rascal this to talk of prosecuting for defamation!"

The information which Admiral Plampin had thus received of O'Meara's remarks while on his passage to England, caused inquiries to be made of other officers of the Favourite; and Mr. Hall, the surgeon of that ship, stated in writing, on the 25th of December, that in a conversation that took place between himself and O'Meara on board the Griffon, at Ascension Island, the latter stated positively that, had he complied with Sir Hudson Lowe's wishes, he did not think Bonaparte would have been then alive. He also hinted that Mr. Hall perhaps might not find Bonaparte in existence some few months thence. From the expressions used, Mr. Hall drew the inference that O'Meara meant to represent that Sir Hudson Lowe had wished him to poison Bonaparte, or indirectly put an end to his existence by withholding medical assistance from him.

The following circumstance, though trifling in itself, will serve to show how sensitive Napoleon was on the subject of the least intrusion at Longwood, and how little he was disposed to show any civility to Mr. Baxter.

That officer, having been invited to dine at Long-

wood on the 8th of December with Captain Nicholls and Dr. Verling, went there about six o'clock in the evening, in company with Major Power. They both proceeded to look at the new building that was going on, and on their return observed Bonaparte standing at his window. At the time they were on the foot-path at the verge of the lawn in front of the house, and continued their walk into the wood behind. They came back by the same path, and saw him still at the window as they passed on to dinner. A few days afterwards Count Montholon called on Captain Nicholls, and said that Napoleon had desired him to deliver the following message:—"Go to the orderly officer and tell him that a few days ago I saw Dr. Baxter walking round my house; that I conceive his doing so as an indelicate intrusion, after the communication respecting that person, and the protestations I some time since made against receiving him as my medical attendant; and that I desire the orderly officer will in future prevent Dr. Baxter from walking about my residence; and further, should Dr. Baxter think fit to make a bulletin of the state of my health in consequence, I protest against such proceedings."

Whatever might be the Governor's inclination to relax the restrictions and grant indulgence to the exiles, the nature of the communications which he from time to time received, relative to clandestine correspondence being carried on and secret plans being projected, gave him little encouragement, and the public ought to bear this fact constantly in mind when judging his conduct. To show the kind of mysterious agency that was kept up, we may mention that on the 30th of December this year Earl Bathurst wrote to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, respecting a letter which had been intercepted,

addressed to "B. O'Meara, Esq.," under cover to "W. Holmes, Esq., Lyon's Inn," and which purported to be written by a person of the name of Franklin, at the Cape of Good Hope. The letter was dated October 26th, 1818, and was in the following terms:—

"Sir,

"Everything which you wished has been done thoroughly, but nothing has been finally settled upon, and a final decision is waited for, and very probably you will soon see your friend. You may rely most implicitly upon every exertion being made for you. Three times your friend saw the person, and the idea was much approved, as it will undoubtedly redound to your advantage and interest.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"J. E. FRANKLIN.

"It is very sure that immediately one thing or other will speedily be done."

It is obvious that this was a letter of the most suspicious nature. In his despatch to Lord Charles Somerset Lord Bathurst said—"The language adopted by the writer of the enclosed letter is evidently that of concealment, and certain expressions in it have led me to entertain suspicions that it has some connexion with the plans which there is every reason to believe are in agitation for the escape of General Buonaparte." He requested, therefore, the Governor of the Cape to keep a watchful eye on the correspondence and proceedings of Mr. Franklin, and impressed upon him the importance of discovering whether the latter was in correspondence with any persons in Brazil, "that being the quarter in which those of Buonaparte's adherents who were the most likely to embark in an enterprise to favour his evasion had established themselves."

About the close of this year Sir Hudson Lowe received the following important despatch from Earl Bathurst, containing instructions, which he immediately communicated to Bonaparte :—

"Sir, "Downing Street, Sept. 28, 1818.

"I have had the honour of receiving your despatch No. 166, transmitting the memorandum of a conversation which had taken place between Count Montholon and Dr. Verling on the 30th of July preceding. I was particularly struck with that part of the conversation in which Count Montholon states that General Buonaparte is never seen, and that he defies the Governor to say that he knows for certain that General Buonaparte is at Longwood or has been there for the last two months.

"From this assertion of Count Montholon I am confirmed in what I had been led to apprehend by certain passages in some of your late despatches, that you have, from a feeling of delicacy towards General Buonaparte, and an unwillingness to intrude on his privacy, forborne enforcing the regulation mentioned in your despatch of 12th May, 1816, and approved in mine of the 26th of June following, the purport of which was that it should be distinctly ascertained twice in every day, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that General Buonaparte was actually in Longwood.

"Although I duly appreciate the motives which have led to this forbearance on your part, and am disposed to intrude as little as possible upon those habits of seclusion which General Buonaparte has latterly imposed upon himself, yet I confess that it appears to me so essential to the security of his person that the fact of his being actually at Longwood should be regularly and daily ascertained, that, if this were

duly enforced, I should have less objection to dispense with some of the restrictions of which General Buonaparte has complained.

"You will, therefore, propose to General Buonaparte the regular admission of the orderly officer to a personal interview between the hours of nine and eleven every morning and evening, leaving it to his discretion each day to select within the time limited the precise moment at which he may prefer admitting the officer. You will acquaint him also, that, upon his acquiescence to this arrangement, you are authorised to relax the other restrictions so far as to admit of his taking exercise either on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback, through the greater part of the island, unattended by a British officer (but subject always to the regulations as to hours which are at present in force), and to assure him that in such case the sentries will in future only be posted round Longwood from the time in the evening at which he may have admitted the orderly officer until the hour at which he may again receive him on the following morning.

"In order that this proposal may not be subject to future cavil or discussion, you will in making this communication state to him those parts of the island from which it may be proper still to interdict his approach without the attendance of a British officer.

"I should hope that, with the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of James Town and two or three other places, he may be permitted under this regulation to range through the whole island in what manner he may think proper.

"You will point out to General Buonaparte that, in leaving it to him to fix the time within the limit assigned at which he will admit the orderly officer to a personal interview, and directing that until such

interview the sentries shall not be placed round his house, whatever inconvenience he may have occasionally complained of by the early posting of the sentries will in future be entirely removed.

"As there is not the same reason for extending this indulgence to the followers of General Buonaparte (and they have shown a great disposition to abuse whatever is granted to them), you will explain that, except at the time when they shall be in personal attendance upon him in these excursions, whatever regulations are now in force with respect to them must be continued.

"In the event of General Buonaparte's declining to accede to this proposal, you will not make any alteration in the existing regulations, and you will adopt such measures as you may think most effectual to prevent your being deceived as to his being actually at Longwood, taking care always that in adopting these measures you pay all possible consideration to the feelings and habits of General Buonaparte not inconsistent with the necessary discharge of your painful duty. "I have the honour, &c.

"BATHURST."

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CHAPTER XXIII.

BONAPARTE'S REFUSAL TO BE SEEN — ATTACK OF VERTIGO — MR. STOKOE SUMMONED TO LONGWOOD — INCURS THE DISPLEASURE OF THE GOVERNOR — NAPOLEON'S 'NOTES' ON LORD BATHURST'S LETTER — O'MEARA'S LETTER TO THE ADMIRALTY, AND HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE NAVY — REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST SIR HUDSON LOWE CONTAINED IN THAT LETTER — LORD CHARLES SOMERSET'S OPINION OF LAS CASES' JOURNAL.

ON the 7th of January, 1819, Captain Nicholls represented to Major Gorrequer that Bonaparte had of late thought proper to adopt a system of concealment which made it impossible for him to do his duty at Longwood, and that references to any of his followers tended only to embarrass, rather than facilitate, his duties. He said that the day before he had had an interview with Count Montholon, who told him that, for several days past, Napoleon had been so ill that he was not able to sit up to receive visitors; but in opposition to this Captain Nicholls asserted that he knew "that General Bonaparte was seen late the evening before in one of his gardens, dressed, with his cocked-hat on."

At an interview between Count Montholon and the orderly officer on the 14th, the former told him that Napoleon had heard that the Governor had by some means got possession of a picture and bust of his son; and if that were the case he thought Sir Hudson Lowe had acted in a very indelicate manner in not presenting those articles to him. Captain Nicholls was directed to inform Count Montholon that the Gover-

nor knew nothing of any bust having arrived, except the one brought by the ship Baring, which was sent up by him to Bonaparte before he was able to see the man who brought it to the island, and for which the only acknowledgment made was the most violent abuse; that a print had come to St. Helena which the Governor had not in his possession, nor had he ever seen it, but he would send and inform the person to whom it belonged that Napoleon Bonaparte desired to have it.

The print in question was an engraving of the Duke de Reichstadt (Napoleon's son), in a newspaper belonging to Rear-Admiral Plampin. The Admiral immediately sent it to Captain Nicholls, by whom it was delivered to Count Montholon for Bonaparte. In the evening Napoleon desired the Count to show the print to Captain Nicholls, Dr. Verling, and Lieutenant Jackson; and Montholon stated, "The Emperor was excessively pleased at getting the picture of his son, and that he knew of its being in the island for three months past."

On the night of the 16th Bonaparte had an attack of vertigo and faintness. Although Dr. Verling was on the premises he was not called in, but Count Montholon gave Captain Nicholls a letter for Mr. Stokoe, surgeon of the Conqueror, requiring him to come immediately. Mr. Stokoe arrived at Longwood early on the morning of the 17th, and remained there seven hours.[1] It was proposed to him by Napoleon that he

[1] Notwithstanding the fact here stated that Mr. Stokoe was sent for, and reached Longwood on the morning of the 17th, a few hours after Napoleon's attack, Count Montholon, in his recently published work, has the hardihood to assert that it was not until the 19th that medical assistance was procured: "C'est seulement le 19 Janvier que le Docteur Stokoe vient à Longwood, sur une nouvelle demande du Général Bertrand, qui lui écrivait, 'Monsieur, vous devez être rendu,'" &c.—*Récits*, vol. ii. pp. 321, 322. The

should become his physician, provided he was willing to agree to certain articles or conditions (seven in number) prescribed in a written paper, to which Mr. Stokoe assented, subject to the approval of Admiral Plampin and Sir Hudson Lowe. In order to ascertain the views of the latter, Count Montholon requested the orderly officer to accompany him late in the evening to Plantation House. Their ride is thus described in Captain Nicholls's Journal:—

"We set off at nine o'clock with two men mounted and carrying lanterns. The night was dark and rainy. Montholon had an interview with the Governor. We took coffee and returned at half-past eleven o'clock. I was excessively wet. I met one of my dragoons on the road, going, by the way of Plantation House, with a letter for Dr. Stokoe of the Conqueror, from Count Bertrand. *Note.*—Dr. Verling, a respectable physician, at Longwood, and *not* called to see Napoleon; he could not be very ill in my humble opinion."

At this interview Count Montholon told the Governor that he expected the Emperor would have a return of his attack during the night, and that he dreaded "un coup d'apoplexie;" that the blood rushed into his head "comme d'un coup de piston," and it was necessary to have some one at hand to bleed him should a recurrence of this take place.

As Mr. Stokoe was the only medical man in whom the Emperor manifested confidence, and the only one he would consent to see, Count Montholon said he hoped the Governor would make no objection to his remaining at Longwood until he decided the question

English edition (vol. iii. p. 66) is different, but not less at variance with truth: "On the 19th, Dr. Stokoe not having come as he had promised, the Grand Marshal again wrote." Mr. Stokoe did come on the 19th, and remained the night at Longwood, but it was his *second* visit.

of his being established there as the Emperor's medical attendant. To this the Governor assented, but said that Mr. Stokoe was under the Admiral's authority, and he himself could not dispose of his services. He would, however, confer with the Admiral on the matter, and could give no answer until he had consulted him. He then remarked, that an insult was offered to other professional persons on the island by the manner in which Mr. Stokoe's services had been required, and said that he had not called upon him since his visit to Longwood to give him any information respecting Bonaparte's health. Count Montholon condemned the manner in which the affair had been managed, and threw the blame on Bertrand, saying that he was for his own part extremely sorry that Dr. Verling was not the person selected; that he had the highest respect and value for him as a medical man as well as personally, and that he and his wife would always recollect with gratitude the attention and assiduity he had manifested towards Madame Montholon in her illness.

Count Montholon afterwards asked Sir Hudson how he wished him to regulate himself in their correspondence, for lately they had been returning each other's letters, in consequence of his using the appellation of "l'Empereur," though it was the same form of "protocole" he had followed for the last three years; and he quoted two letters he had addressed to the Governor in the preceding July where that title was used, and which, notwithstanding, were not returned. The Governor replied that he had acted on his own discretion in some cases, and overlooked the circumstance; but he had fully explained himself by letter on that subject long ago, and he would not depart from the rule now.

The Count said that he was very sorry to hear it, as

in that case there could be no correspondence between them. He admitted that it was childishness (*enfantillage*) to give the title of Emperor to one who had no longer a throne; and in his present situation it was perhaps ridiculous; "but since he wishes it," added Montholon, "what am I to do?"

In reply, the Governor asked him why he did not simply say "Napoleon" in the notes which he wrote in his own name. The Count answered that he never wrote any, except such as were upon unimportant matters, but by his dictation—they were all written in his own words. He made, however, the remark, that in the proposals about Mr. Stokoe, which Napoleon had himself written, he had been careful to avoid the title of "Emperor." He was told he was mistaken, for that in the heading of the paper it was proposed to give Mr. Stokoe "le caractère de médecin de l'Empereur Napoléon;" on which Montholon said that, if so, it was unintentional, Bonaparte's object having been to keep that title out of the paper, but he was so accustomed to write "l'Empereur," that it had slipped in there by accident.

Mr. Stokoe fell into the same mistake as O'Meara with respect to Napoleon's complaint. He treated it as a disease of the liver, and, in a report to Admiral Plampin on the 20th of January, said that he had taken the opportunity of particularly examining that region, and was fully persuaded of its diseased state, "having distinctly felt a degree of hardness." In a previous report he spoke of the symptoms as being those of "chronic hepatitis." And this idea seems to have taken full possession of Napoleon's mind, at which we need not be surprised,—erroneous as it was afterwards proved to be,—for abundant cause was on a *post-mortem* examination shown to have existed for

the uneasiness he at times felt in the stomach, and he naturally adopted the opinion as to its origin which was held by his medical attendants.

On the 19th a paper in the handwriting of Count Montholon, dated Longwood, but without any signature, and clearly and beyond all doubt directly dictated by Napoleon, was left at Plantation House for the Governor, who however returned it the same day, with a note addressed to Count Montholon, telling him that no representation respecting Napoleon Bonaparte could be received, unless it had his signature, or that of some officer in attendance upon him, who, before he signed his name, must distinctly express that the letter or paper sent was written by his direction.

Sir Hudson Lowe, however, took care to have a copy made of this document before he sent it back, and it proved to be as usual an attempt to frighten the Governor into a compliance with Bonaparte's views, by representations of the fatal consequences that would ensue to his health if they were disregarded. But the contents will speak for themselves, as the paper is not too long to be quoted entire. The following is a translation of it:—

"It is necessary that Dr. Stokoe should remain at Longwood, if he is to pursue the treatment which has been interrupted since the departure of Mr. O'Meara, that is to say, during six months; which interruption has greatly increased the disease of the liver, the first symptoms of which appeared sixteen months ago. The whole system of life is deranged: it is necessary for the doctor to see his patient several times a day. The attack which took place on the day before yesterday was the fifth which has occurred within six months; they always come on at night. Count Bertrand or Count Montholon has always been

with the Emperor during them, without any medical man; but the attacks were never before so serious as that which took place the other night, when for a moment they despaired of his life. Count Bertrand offered to send for Dr. Verling,—the patient refused to permit it; the proposal alone altered his countenance, and immediately increased the violence of the attack; this determined Count Bertrand to send for Dr. Stokoe at two o'clock in the morning; he arrived at six o'clock; the orderly officer not being authorized to write to the town, he was obliged to ask permission of the Governor to do so, and this doubled the distance. The doctor arrived too late; but happily the patient's constitution had overcome the crisis. Thus were verified the words contained in Count Montholon's letter to the Governor of the 25th of July last, when Dr. O'Meara had been torn away from Longwood, but was still at James Town: 'That even in the agonies of death he will receive no assistance, nor take any remedies, but from the hands of his own physician, and if he is deprived of him he will receive no one, and will consider himself assassinated by you.' When Dr. Stokoe arrived, he went to Bertrand: the latter proposed to him to fill Dr. O'Meara's place, and presented to him the seven articles which have since been forwarded to the Governor. He accepted the offer, and was then introduced to the patient. The Governor could not prevent this transaction, either directly or indirectly, without throwing off the mask. Thus the treatment of the disease, interrupted during six months, is now again adjourned until the arrival of the French physician. The disease of the liver will make greater ravages during this period, and, if it should at length become incurable, who will have killed the Emperor? What has occurred during the

last six months gives reason to fear a crisis every month, and, if we send for Dr. Stokoe, he will arrive too late! If one day he finds the patient dead, who will have killed him? The world and history will answer loudly.

"Longwood, January 19, 1819."

An attempt was now made by the French to get rid of Dr. Verling's presence at Longwood, where, although his professional assistance was declined, he continued by order of the Governor, since the departure of O'Meara, to reside. Count Bertrand called upon him on the 19th, and after many expressions of good will told him that obstacles were thrown by the Governor in the way of the choice of a medical attendant by Napoleon; the correspondence was becoming more warm, and motives would soon be attributed to the former for the line of conduct he adopted, in which Dr. Verling's name would unavoidably be implicated, and in a manner in which it ought never to appear. He therefore advised him to retire immediately from the situation. Dr. Verling however replied with brevity and spirit, that he was there as a military man, in obedience to orders from his superiors, and his conscience would enable him to despise any false imputations.

Napoleon's plan of having Mr. Stokoe at Longwood in the place of O'Meara came to a speedy end. He was closely examined by the Admiral respecting his visits there on the 19th and 20th, and the nature of his communications with the French, when he admitted that he had acquainted them with O'Meara's calumnious charges at Ascension Island against the Governor, and spoken to them about the letters and books which had arrived for O'Meara under a feigned name in the Lusitania store-ship, and other matters,

which led the Admiral to tell him that he was a very dangerous character. Upon this Mr. Stokoe not unnaturally declined to have any further communication with Longwood, and wrote to the Admiral requesting, in case his services were again required by Bonaparte, that his decision might be made known to Count Bertrand. A few days afterwards he asked to be invalided and sent home to England, and his request was complied with.

About this time or a little later Sir Hudson Lowe received from Lord Bathurst a despatch insisting that Bonaparte should be seen by the orderly officer twice every day. Lord Bathurst said,—

"You will therefore propose to General Buonaparte the regular admission of the orderly officer to a personal interview between the hours of nine and eleven every morning and evening, leaving it to his discretion each day to select, within the time limited, the precise moment at which he may prefer admitting the officer.

"You will acquaint him also that, upon his acquiescence in this arrangement, you are authorised to relax the other restrictions, so far as to admit of his taking exercise, either on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback, through the greater part of the island, unattended by a British officer (but subject always to the regulations as to hours which are at present in force), and to assure him that in such case the sentries will in future only be posted round Longwood from the time in the evening at which he may have admitted the orderly officer until the hour at which he may again receive him on the following morning."

In another letter written a few days later Lord Bathurst expressed his apprehension that Bonaparte might still decline to admit the orderly officer in the manner proposed, and he then thus proceeded:—

"Should such be his determination, and should his system of seclusion render it necessary to adopt some compulsory mode of learning a fact indispensable to the prevention of his escape, you will instruct the orderly officer to take proper measures for obtaining a view of his person at some hour in the course of every day; and should any resistance be made to the orderly officer on the part of his attendants in this necessary branch of his duty, it will be your duty to furnish the means of overcoming that resistance, and of punishing by a removal from Longwood the persons who may have engaged in it."

On the 12th of October 1818 there had appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' a series of comments, in French, upon the contents of the despatches of Lord Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe of the 1st of January that year, in which the Colonial Secretary said that he transmitted back to St. Helena Napoleon's letter to Lord Liverpool before laying it before the Prince Regent, for whom it was intended, in order that the Governor might first have an opportunity of seeing and answering the charges there brought against him. Extracts from these despatches, when they were received, had been sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Bonaparte, and the article in the 'Morning Chronicle' consisted of comments upon them, headed, 'Notes approuvées par Napoléon.' A copy of that newspaper arrived at St. Helena in February this year, and was the first intimation the Governor had of the existence of the 'Notes.' On the 14th he wrote to Lord Bathurst and said,—"I was naturally struck with great surprise on observing the Notes contained in this paper, under the head of 'Notes approuvées par Napoléon,' having received no reply whatever

from him or from any of his followers on the subject of your Lordship's instructions to which they refer, although, when I transmitted these extracts under cover to Count Bertrand (to which I was induced solely from the reference they made to him), I accompanied them with a note for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, which proves the falsehood of the assertion contained in the very first paragraph of the Notes, wherein it is said the extracts were sent 'sâns lettre d'envoi.' " He added that he availed himself of that opportunity to transmit some observations upon the Notes, which he had written after seeing them in print, and which will be found, together with the 'Notes' themselves, at the end of the volume, being neither brief nor interesting enough for insertion here.

Throughout this month nothing occurred at Longwood which deserves notice. Bonaparte was very seldom seen out of doors, but he now and then walked in his little flower-garden, and is described by the orderly officer in one of his reports as "dressed in green, with a cocked hat on." Captain Nicholls had great difficulty in accomplishing the task of seeing him as often as his instructions required, and he had frequently to remonstrate on the subject with Count Montholon, but without effect. Napoleon admitted no company to his presence, and kept himself in solitary gloom within doors at Longwood.

On the 27th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst and said that there appeared "little probability of his being soon relieved from the state of seclusion in which he at present lives, except by shaking off his dependence upon Count Bertrand, whom no officer now visits." He added,—"Count Bertrand will receive no person in the presence of an officer; and even where

the orderly officer has been exercising his duty in the most simple and natural manner, he has found himself exposed to insults, such even as I could not approve he should submit to. . . . . They are very anxious at Longwood to hear something respecting the French surgeon, without, however, showing any desire to change the present one. Madame Bertrand asked Dr. Verling, if the proposals made to Mr. Stokoe were shown to him, would he accept them? He declined entering into any reply [discussion?] with her on the subject, when she said to him, 'If you wish to become the Emperor's physician, why do you maintain such a distance from my husband?' He visits frequently at the house at her request, but is on terms of ceremony with him. Dr. Verling has said to me more than once that he sees it is not a medical person they want, but one whom they can render an instrument in some way or other for external communication."

On the 16th of March the Redwing arrived at St. Helena with despatches for the Governor from Lord Bathurst, who sent him a copy of the celebrated letter to the Admiralty written by O'Meara on the 28th of October 1818. This letter was inspired by a spirit of the bitterest hatred against Sir Hudson Lowe, and was a kind of epitome or abstract of all the charges against him, which he afterwards expanded in his book into the form of a journal of real occurrences. It is of great length, and, as it has been already published, it is not inserted here, but is given without abridgment at the end of the volume, accompanied by the indignant notes written by Sir Hudson Lowe upon its calumnious statements. It is greatly to be lamented that this vindication of himself should not have been given to the world long before now; and even O'Meara himself could hardly have anticipated the

success which his malignity achieved in blackening the character of the Governor, upon whose silence he could not have reckoned. But in one respect he overshot the mark.

> "He who of old would rend the oak,
> Dreamed not of the rebound."

In his eagerness to attack he placed himself in a dilemma from which there was no escape, and instant punishment to himself was the consequence of his accusation of another. It will be remembered that in his passage home to England O'Meara threw out dark insinuations that the life of Napoleon was not safe in the hands of Sir Hudson Lowe, and that he, in his capacity of medical attendant, had been tampered with to see if he would assist in the murderous scheme. This charge he repeated in his letter in terms that could not be mistaken, and the consequence was instant dismissal from the service. The reasons for this step are detailed in the following letter addressed to him by Mr. Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, on the 2nd of November, in reply to his of the 28th of October, and they are unanswerable. It was a *réponse sans réplique*:—

"Sir, "Admiralty Office, Nov. 2, 1818.

"I have received and laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter (and its enclosure) of the 28th ultimo, in which you state several particulars of your conduct in the situation you lately held at St. Helena, and request 'that their Lordships would, as soon as their important duties should allow, communicate to you their judgment thereupon.'

"Their Lordships have lost no time in considering your statement, and they command me to inform you

that (even without reference to the complaints made against you by Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe) they find in your own admissions ample ground for marking your proceedings with their severest displeasure.

"But there is one passage in your said letter of such a nature as to supersede the necessity of animadverting upon any other parts of it. This passage is as follows:—

"'In the third interview which Sir Hudson Lowe had with Napoleon Bonaparte, in the month of May 1816, he proposed to the latter to send me away, and to replace me by Mr. Baxter, who had been several years surgeon with him in the Corsican Rangers. This proposition was rejected with indignation by Napoleon Bonaparte upon the grounds of the indelicacy of a proposal to substitute an army surgeon for the private surgeon of his own choice.

"'Failing in this attempt, Sir Hudson Lowe adopted the resolution of manifesting great confidence in me, by loading me with civilities, inviting me constantly to dinner with him, conversing for hours together with me alone, both at his own house and grounds and at Longwood, either in my own room or under the trees and elsewhere. On some of these occasions he made to me observations upon the benefit which would result to Europe from the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, of which event he spoke in a manner which, considering his situation and mine, was peculiarly distressing to me.'

"It is impossible to doubt the meaning which this passage was intended to convey, and my Lords can as little doubt that the insinuation is a calumnious falsehood; but if it were true, and if so horrible a suggestion were made to you directly or indirectly, it was your bounden duty not to have lost a moment in

communicating it to the Admiral on the spot, or to the Secretary of State, or to their Lordships.

"An overture so monstrous in itself, and so deeply involving not merely the personal character of the Governor, but the honour of the nation and the important interests communicated to his charge, should not have been reserved in your own breast for two years, to be produced at last, not (as it would appear) from a sense of public duty, but in furtherance of your personal hostility against the Governor.

"Either the charge is in the last degree false and calumnious, or you can have no possible excuse for having hitherto suppressed it.

"In either case, and without adverting to the general tenor of your conduct as stated in your letter, my Lords consider you to be an improper person to continue in His Majesty's service, and they have directed your name to be erased from the list of naval surgeons accordingly. I have, &c.

"J. W. CROKER."

In transmitting O'Meara's letter to Sir Hudson Lowe Lord Bathurst wrote,—"It will be a trial of your temper to read Mr. O'Meara's charges against you. The answer which the Lords of the Admiralty gave to it must be satisfactory to you, more especially when you know that Sir George Cockburn was the first person who, on reading the charges, declared that Mr. O'Meara ought to be instantly dismissed the service."

When the letter reached Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena he lost no time in preparing a refutation of its contents. For this purpose he submitted each separate charge to those persons who had been vouched by the writer as able to confirm his statements, and with minute and anxious accuracy investigated every

allegation which was capable of being brought to the test of proof. Point by point and line by line the assertions of O'Meara were subjected to a rigorous examination, and I do not hesitate to say that a more triumphant answer was never given to the charges of an accuser. Some, if not all, of these have been already proved to be false; and in the progress of our narrative there has been given a sufficient confutation to many accusations which Sir Hudson Lowe at the time when they were made known to him was enabled to disprove by the testimony of others who were acquainted with the facts. It is therefore needless to encumber this part of the work by going again over the same ground, and repeating details which will be found elsewhere in their proper place and order, and we shall only introduce here some items which either have not been already mentioned or not yet fully explained.

O'Meara stated in his letter to the Admiralty that Captain Blakeney resigned the situation of orderly officer at Longwood, because Sir Hudson Lowe required him to perform duties degrading to a British officer, and to report the conversation and actions of persons with whom he daily sat down at table.

And in a letter from Bertrand to Las Cases, which was published in an English newspaper, there occurred the following passage respecting Captain Blakeney,—

"Within a very few days of his arrival he found that the Governor required things of him very unworthy of a man of honour; but, as that evil sensibly increased, he urgently requested, as soon as his year's service in that disgusting post expired, that he might be relieved from it. We know that he declared confidentially to his friends in the regiment that it was

impossible for a man of honour to continue in that post without forfeiting his own good opinion."

"The newspaper containing Bertrand's letter arrived at St. Helena at the same time as O'Meara's letter to the Admiralty, and Captain Blakeney immediately wrote to the Count, and said,—

"The only observation I have to make upon the above is, that, as far as it relates to myself, it is false, and that I conceive it to be an infamous calumny upon my character. The confinement necessarily attending the situation, and being deprived in a great measure of the society of my brother officers, was sufficient for my wishing to be relieved, and not those reasons imputed to me by you."

In addition to this denial by Captain Blakeney himself, the officers of the 66th Regiment met, and signed the following declaration:—

"We, the undersigned officers of the regiment, do hereby declare and certify upon honour as officers and gentlemen, that we never heard Captain Blakeney on any occasion, either directly or indirectly, make use of the above expressions mentioned in Count Bertrand's letter to Count Las Cases (dated St. Helena, 16th August, 1818, and [which] appeared in the 'Courier' of the 29th October, 1818), or any words to that effect."

Captain Blakeney also wrote the following contradiction of O'Meara's statement:—

"I never was required to perform any duties degrading to myself or situation; and the assertion of my being desired by Sir Hudson Lowe or any one else to make reports of the conversations and actions of persons with whom I daily sat down to table, is entirely false."

Another of O'Meara's assertions was that the post-office at St. Helena had been tampered with; and the Governor in consequence applied to Mr. Cole, who had charge of that department, for his statement on the subject. Mr. Cole immediately wrote to Colonel Wynyard, and said that no impediment whatever was ever opposed to O'Meara's receiving any letters that came addressed to him. He added, "Such an assertion as 'that the Governor required and endeavoured to compel me as Postmaster to furnish him with all such letters as he thought proper, addressed to British subjects within the island of St. Helena, that he might secretly open them and examine their contents,' is false. His Excellency the Governor must be aware that an officer of his staff has regularly attended at the opening of mails."

In another letter Mr. Cole said that no seizure of newspapers was ever made at the post-office, and that all newspapers as well as letters addressed to British subjects had been invariably delivered to the persons to whom they were addressed, on their application.

O'Meara had further asserted that the Governor "caused false bulletins to be made out, and employed for that purpose a surgeon, Mr. Baxter, who never saw the patient, and who consequently could not be a judge of his complaint;" and that he caused the restrictions of the 10th of April, 1818, imposed upon him (O'Meara), to be removed, because he had been made to comprehend, by "authorized persons," that if Napoleon died during the time he kept his physician in confinement, or under the hands of any surgeon forced upon him, strange surmises respecting his death would arise in England and Europe, of which they themselves would be unable to give a satisfactory

explanation. The question of the "false" bulletins has already been sufficiently discussed,[1] and we need only add that Sir Hudson Lowe submitted these extracts from the letter to the foreign Commissioners, who alone could be meant by the expression, "authorized persons." Count Balmain immediately answered his inquiry, and, with respect to the latter part of O'Meara's statement, denied that he had ever interfered or assumed the right to question the conduct of the Governor. He said that he had frequently heard such insinuations as those alluded to from the French at Longwood *(personnes de Longwood)*, which he had constantly repelled, and had striven to disabuse their minds of any such idea; and that General Gourgaud after he left Longwood had told him and Baron Stürmer, "Ce que vous me répétez sans cesse est vrai. Sir Hudson Lowe n'est rien de ce que croit l'Empereur. J'en suis convaincu maintenant."

The Marquis de Montchenu was equally explicit in his denial, and some time afterwards he addressed a letter to the Governor in which he went more fully into the subject, and gave the substance of a conversation he had had at Longwood at the time of O'Meara's detention, when he was told that, if the doctor was willing to listen to the insinuations that were made to him, the Emperor would not be long alive. The Marquis then described with such dramatic vivacity his horror at hearing this language, that it would be a pity not to quote the passage in the original:—

"A ce *mot* un mouvement *d'horreur* semblable à une *convulsion* s'empara de moi; mes deux mains se levèrent en l'air, et mon corps en arrière; je ne dis que Ho! ho! Sur ce mouvement, l'on me dit tout-de-suite, d'un ton

[1] See vol. ii. p. 261.

radouci, *Nous ne le croyons pas, mais c'est toujours bon à dire.*"

In thanking Count Balmain for his letter, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote the following indignant comment on the foul accusation brought against him:—

"It would be supposing myself however in a state of humiliation, entirely beneath the rank I hold, the country to which I belong, or the Government I serve, to stand in need of any vindication whatever against aspersions of so foul a nature, whilst at the same time I can hardly imagine a lower scale of moral self-degradation, or a more complete absence of everything like a spirit of true honour, than what has been exemplified in the conduct of the principal persons you have adverted to, both bearing the appellation of general officers, and claiming noble rank besides, by their descending to the invention of such miserable calumnies, or, if they did not themselves invent and believe them, rendering themselves such ready and willing instruments for their dissemination."

As so much has been said on the subject of the supply furnished to the establishment at Longwood, and it was made a prominent topic of complaint in the letter addressed by O'Meara to the Secretary of the Admiralty on the 28th of October, 1818, we will here give at length Major Gorrequer's observations on that statement, and the reader will thus have before him at one view the Governor's defence to the charge of stinting the table of the French exiles:—

"In a conversation which I had with Count Montholon on the 19th July, 1816, he said that, when the 'Emperor' first heard of the intention of the British Government to curtail the expense of his establishment, he declared he would rather bear the whole

expense himself than be indebted to Government for a part. Count Montholon then remarked that the 'Emperor' could easily procure the means of paying for his expenses, by drawing upon some of his relations, either his mother (Madame), Princess Pauline, Prince Joseph, his own son, or Prince Eugene, or some other of his family; for all of whom he had done so much, and who surely would not refuse him 500,000 francs if he applied to them; particularly Prince Eugene, to whom the 'Emperor' said he had in one day made over twenty millions of livres; that, however, the 'Emperor' would only agree to draw for money by means of sealed letters, and, if the Governor wished to make any proposition in regard to this matter, the 'Emperor' would be ready to receive it.

"The Governor called upon Count Bertrand on the 16th August, for the purpose of entering into a full explanation with him on the subject of the reduction contemplated in the annual expenditure of the establishment, but in consequence of the warmth shown by Count Bertrand on this occasion, which terminated by his declining to interfere, and referring the Governor to Count Montholon, the subject was broken off abruptly.

"On the 5th September I waited on Count Montholon by the Governor's desire, and made the following communication to him in presence of Mr. O'Meara:—

"'As it is possible the British Government may not have been aware that General Bonaparte's establishment had suffered no diminution of numbers when it fixed 8000*l.* per annum as the limits for its expense, and required the excess to be paid by General Bonaparte himself, the Governor has undertaken *on his own responsibility*, to allow a further sum of 4000*l.* to be expended by Mr. Balcombe, *including all charges*,

until he receives further instructions. Mr. Balcombe must arrange with Count Montholon that the expense does not in any case exceed 1000*l. per month*, and the Governor fixes this sum with the conviction that it may be rendered sufficient if proper economy is observed.

"'If General Bonaparte is averse to restrictions of any kind on this head, the Governor will authorise further expenses to be incurred, but drafts must in such case be given in the manner in which he understood from General Bonaparte himself and Count Montholon would be the case.'

"General Montholon said that the greatest economy had been established by him in the household with a view to curtail the expenses, and that he was certain they could not by any means come within the proposed sum of 12,000*l.*, but he would state the purport of the communication I had made to him to General Bonaparte, and give me his answer in two days after, if I called at Longwood; that he however was persuaded the 'Emperor' would not either authorise, or even allow him, to have anything to do with it; that his answer (he anticipated) would be, 'Let the Governor send me what he thinks proper; I ask for nothing; I must take what he sends me, since there is nothing else for it: c'est un cas de nécessité à qui il faut se soumettre: let him follow his orders.'

"General Montholon declared, he himself would have nothing to do with Mr. Balcombe in any arrangement for the diminution of the expense, when his own conscience convinced him the present allowance was barely sufficient; that the 'Emperor' countenancing any arrangement for a decrease, or his (Count Montholon) assisting in carrying it into effect, would be an acknowledgment of the propriety of the measure, and he therefore would take no further interest in the

matter. He then said that the 'Emperor' was anxious to enter into any arrangement for paying the whole of the expenses of his establishment, provided any house here, or in England, or on the continent of Europe (to be fixed upon with the Governor's concurrence, or even at his own choice), was named to transact his money matters, under an assurance from the 'Emperor' that all letters sent through this house would be solely on pecuniary affairs; but provided also that all such letters should pass sealed and unopened to their destination.

"General Montholon added, the 'Emperor' did not blame the Governor for executing the instructions of his Government.

"He concluded by saying that, in the event of the mode he proposed for the payment of the 'Emperor's' expenses being acceded to, it was to be distinctly understood he (General Bonaparte) must in that case have the undisputed right of selecting the persons to be employed as purveyors.

"Having again called on Count Montholon on the 7th September, for the purpose of knowing the decision of General Bonaparte on the subject of the communication I had made to him on the 5th, by the Governor's direction, he told me, in the presence of the orderly officer and Mr. O'Meara, that he had repeated to the 'Emperor' the conversation that had passed between us, who had expressed how painful it was to his feelings to find he was obliged to enter into details of that nature; that he had never felt so mortified in his life as to be obliged to discuss the matter of a bottle of wine or a chicken more or less, and that the British Government should find it necessary to descend to the consideration of one or two thousand pounds as an object in the expenses of his house. That if Govern-

ment was so desirous of retrenchment and economy, why did it not accede to his proposal of paying the whole of his expenses himself, which he most particularly desired to do (always, however, on the terms mentioned in the preceding conversation), and it would save the British nation the necessity of expending anything whatever on his account.

"Count Montholon said the 'Emperor' and himself had been employed the whole of that morning to see what reductions might take place in the establishment, so as to approximate the expenses to the allowance notified to him as fixed upon (if the Governor persisted in not acceding to the mode proposed by him of obtaining the means of payment from his own funds); that the 'Emperor' had sent for him very early for that purpose, and had entered into the business with the greatest readiness and the best humour possible. He had first asked him how many English servants were employed in the house; on his answering twelve, and describing their different occupations, he said, 'There are too many, we can do with fewer,' and had directed that six of them and a black servant (an inhabitant) should be discharged. The 'Emperor' had also inquired what quantity of wine was consumed daily, and, on being informed, he answered, 'We must be satisfied with less; twelve bottles of wine, including claret and white wines of all descriptions, must suffice' (viz. for the use of himself and of the officers and their families); that he also directed a proportionate diminution to be made in the Cape wine, in consequence of the reduction he had ordered in the number of servants; but that, with regard to the provisions, he had observed he could not see any possibility of their being reduced below the quantity now furnished.

"Count Montholon here promised to send me the list of things which General Bonaparte considered as sufficient, and stated he had been desired to say that, if it appeared still necessary to restrict them further in any of the articles of provisions, &c., the 'Emperor' in that case had charged him to dispose of about 25,000 livres worth of his plate in a private manner, either to Mr. Balcombe or any other merchant in town, as he could spare that quantity (not being at the time in use), and from the produce of its sale contrive to provide those little comforts denied them; that this might last them two or three months longer, or until some fresh instructions arrived from England; if the Governor should have no objection, he (Count Montholon) would therefore send for Mr. Balcombe, or some other merchant, to arrange about the disposal of this plate; it however would be more desirable that a certain sum should be advanced upon the security of the plate than to actually dispose of it.

"Count Montholon declared the 'Emperor' bore no ill will, nor felt any cause of complaint against the Governor in regard to these retrenchments; he was only executing his instructions, and the orders of his Government left him no choice. 'Il est vrai' (he added) 'que j'ai écrit, par ordre de l'Empereur récemment, des choses bien dures, très fortes, très sérieuses, au Gouverneur, mais qui ne lui étaient point personelles; et l'Empereur est très bien convaincu qu'il ne doit pas s'attendre que le Gouverneur paie de sa poche, ou aille au delà de ce que son Gouvernement lui préscrit.'

"After separating from Count Montholon, Mr. O'Meara told me that General Bonaparte had sent for Cipriani (his maître-d'hôtel) that morning, before he saw General Montholon, and directed him so to

arrange that Count Bertrand's house expenses should never exceed 100 francs per day. On the 10th of September Mr. O'Meara informed me at Longwood that General Bonaparte had told him Count Montholon had stated to him that in the conversation of the 7th I had either proposed or insinuated the adoption of the measure of disposing of the plate to assist in paying the expenses of the establishment; that General Bonaparte appeared much irritated and very indignant about it; but that, he (Mr. O'Meara) having replied he was present during the whole of the conversation, and that no such proposal or suggestion was made by me, General Bonaparte asked him if he would say so in the presence of Count Montholon; on his answering, certainly he would, the General spoke of Montholon in very angry terms, called him 'a bavard, un coglione,' said he had never authorised him to enter upon any subject of that nature, and abused him for having done so without his permission. Mr. O'Meara also mentioned that General Bonaparte told him Count Montholon had denied having said to me that, in the event of the Governor's stating to him in a letter that he would pledge himself, if bills of exchange were sent under cover to him (the Governor) unsealed, they would only be seen by himself on the island, and by His Majesty's Ministers in England (to whom he would transmit them), and those immediately concerned in the payment of them, the Count would submit such an assurance to General Bonaparte; that he (Mr. O'Meara) replied, he was present and heard Count Montholon express himself to that effect to me.

"On the 12th September I was informed by Mr. O'Meara, that since he last saw me he had fully explained to General Bonaparte that part of my con-

versation with Count Montholon about the plate, who then acknowledged that he had authorised Count Montholon to sell some of the plate; adding, 'The next thing I must sell will be my clothes.'

"Having upon several occasions, when at Longwood, received complaints of various kinds from Count Montholon against Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, who had even gone so far as to say that, although he did not mean to assert Mr. Balcombe was a thief, yet that he had thieves employed under him; and having also been told by Count Montholon that, in the event of General Bonaparte paying for his expenses, it was to be explicitly understood he would not consider himself obliged to continue Mr. Balcombe as purveyor, but appoint whoever he thought proper; I was very much surprised to learn from Mr. O'Meara what Count Montholon had stated to Mr. Balcombe respecting me.

"Count Montholon not having kept his word of sending me the list of what supplies would be considered sufficient for the establishment at Longwood, as he promised me on the 7th, the purveyor was desired to prepare an estimate for the future expenditure on that head, after consulting with Count Montholon, so as to bring the amount as near as possible to 12,000*l.* per annum, as Count Montholon had been informed by me on the 5th would be done; and after two or three sketches had been made out by the purveyor, the schedule A was approved of by the Governor on the 13th September, and subsequently acted upon.

"The quantity of claret, madeira, constantia, champagne, vin de grave, and malt liquors, is that fixed upon by Count Montholon with me, who told me that, calculating at the rate of one bottle of claret daily for each of the gentlemen and ladies, exclusively of the quantity of the above-named white wines as specified

in scale A, would be sufficient, and that for each of the domestics, male and female, living in the house, one bottle of Cape wine would be required.

"The Governor, however, considering the six principal French domestics as of a more respectable class of persons, directed that their table should be supplied with a superior kind of wine, and they were stated to prefer Teneriffe. The English soldier servants and Chinese employed in the house received their island rations, and were not included in the scale. The orderly officer and surgeon had a table supplied separately, at a fixed amount of expense. A nominal list of the persons composing the establishment at Longwood at this period, supplied as per schedule A, is also annexed thereto, No. 1; and No. 2, being an average estimate of the annual expense calculated on this scale, likewise accompanying it. This arrangement continued until the departure of Captain Piontkowski and three French domestics for the Cape and an English gardener for England, the removal of a servant of Count Las Cases, and the discharge of one of General Gourgaud's, both inhabitants.

"The schedule B shows the rate of supplies on the 25th November, 1816, after the departure of the above persons, and the alterations that took place in consequence; by which it will appear that the only reduction was 1 bottle of claret and 5 of Cape wine, 10 lbs. of meat, and 10 lbs. of bread; at the same time it is to be noticed that Captain Piontkowski had a separate table kept for him whilst at Longwood: this reduction in the wine was in conformity to Count Montholon's own previous computation. It will be observed in this scale that an increase took place in some articles (on its being so required through the purveyor) on the 21st November; the expense for

vegetables was increased from 20*s.* to 26*s.* daily, and the purveyor was informed by me that, when the amount for confectionery was not expended, the difference was to be added to that for vegetables.

"Count Las Cases, who had been separated from Longwood, was, as well as his son, supplied with provisions, wines, and all other articles necessary for the table, from 25th to 30th November, from the Governor's own house; and upon their removal to James Town, preparatory to their embarkation for the Cape, they were supplied from a board and lodging house (Mr. Solomon's) until the 30th December, when they sailed. The additional expense incurred on account of these two persons from the 25th November till their embarkation, including their sea stock to the Cape, amounted to 240*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*

"No diminution whatever was made in the supplies of the establishment in consequence of the departure of Count Las Cases and son. Island beef exclusively commenced to be issued, through the contractor employed by the commissariat (Mr. Barker), on the 27th May, 1817, and has been thus supplied ever since.[1] Schedule C will be found to contain the

[1] The following note was sent from Major Gorrequer to Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer, dated December 31, 1817:—"Mr. O'Meara having yesterday shown the Governor a sample of bread sent to Longwood for the use of General Bonaparte, stating at the same time it had been occasionally bad of late, I inquired the reason of its being so. I am now informed by Mr. Carr, the baker, who came up here himself this morning to explain the circumstance, that the cause of the bread being less pleasant to the taste within a few days past proceeds from the necessity he has been under of using *leaven* instead of *yeast* during the Christmas holidays, a period when the breweries are shut up, and an evil irremediable for a few days. He at the same time brought up a sample of rolls made of yeast, which is now again procurable, and they appeared perfectly well made, and free from the leaven acidity of the sample of yesterday. Mr. Carr has received the strictest injunctions to spare no pains to have a constant supply of the best flour for the use of Longwood, and he seems very much inclined to use every means in his power to furnish the best quality of bread."

rate of supplies on the 29th May, 1817, also the increase of several articles, viz. bread, on a request made by the 'maître-d'hôtel,' Cipriani, to the Governor; an additional amount charged for fish, in consequence of the price having risen; and, on the representation of Mr. O'Meara that a greater quantity of fuel would be necessary in consequence of the rainy season having set in, it was increased from 3½ cwt. to 7 cwt. of coals daily throughout the year, and the wood was also increased from 3 cwt. to 6 cwt., because an aversion was stated on the part of General Bonaparte to coals, and that they were in consequence only used for preparing the hot-baths (which all the families are in the constant habit of using at Longwood).

"Count Montholon having requested that less champagne should be sent, and that the difference might be added to the quantity of vin de Grave, this last was immediately doubled, but no decrease took place in the quantity of champagne.

"The assertion of Mr. O'Meara, in his scale subjoined, that the claret was reduced to 6 bottles daily, and the fowls to 5 in number, on the departure of Count Las Cases, is perfectly groundless.

"In consequence of a memorandum in Mr. O'Meara's handwriting presented to the purveyor by the 'maître-d'hôtel,' dated 3rd August, requiring an increase of 'rôtis,' turkeys, geese, and pigeons were accordingly immediately directed to be added to the usual quantity, as well as flour, oil, and some other minor articles (on the 'maître-d'hôtel's' application), as will be seen by the above schedule.

"Scale D is the list of supplies as furnished on the 4th August, 1817, which continued without alteration

till the month of December following, when, in consequence of the Governor's becoming informed by Cipriani that General Montholon's family lived separately, and that General Gourgaud also did the same (instead of dining at General Bonaparte's table, as had been the custom before), a bottle of claret was added, and an increase took place in some other articles.

"Schedule E contains the rate at which the supplies were provided on the 27th January, 1818, which continued without alteration during the whole of the period the purveyorship remained in the hands of Mr. Balcombe, viz. to 31st March, 1818.

"The annexed certificate of the officer of the commissariat department who was charged with the issue of French wines sent by the English Government for General Bonaparte's establishment, will prove that the quantity of claret supplied at Longwood by him has always exceeded, during the time adverted to by Mr. O'Meara, the rate of 8 bottles per day; and that for two-thirds of that time, viz. from the 1st October, 1816, to 30th June, 1817, it has not been less than 9 bottles, for the delivery of which the 'maître-d'hôtel's' receipts were regularly given to him; and that Champagne and vin de Grave have been furnished at the rate of 1½ bottles daily for the period Mr. O'Meara speaks of.

"The Madeira, Constantia, Teneriffe, and Cape wines have been regularly supplied, according to the rates stated in the schedules, by the purveyor (as will appear by the accounts sent home), for the delivery of which the receipts of the 'maître-d'hôtel' were invariably taken. Burgundy imported from Rio de Janeiro, and some of the choicest Constantia (white

and red), procured at the Cape, were sent to Longwood, exclusively of the wines mentioned in the schedules.[1]

"The purveyor's accounts, specifying all the supplies furnished, were always certified as received (before payment was made to him) by Count Montholon. If in any case the supplies have been below the quantity stated in the schedules, it could not be avoided, the articles not being procurable, and this could have been but very rarely indeed. I have invariably and repeatedly desired of the purveyor on no account whatever to afford the least ground of complaint in this particular. Fruit and fish are articles which were not always to be obtained to the extent required.

"After Captain Piontkowski, Count Las Cases and his son, three French domestics, and several English servants were removed, in October and November, 1816, there only remained General Bonaparte, three officers, two ladies, and a few children (some of them infants) to be supplied, exclusively of the domestics; and one of these three officers, General Gourgaud, left Longwood in February, 1818.

"Macaroni, vermicelli, and dried haricots, liqueurs, foreign cheeses of superior description, Mocha coffee,[2]

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[1] Extract of a note from Sir Hudson Lowe to the orderly officer at Longwood, dated August 27, 1817:—"I have sent also a case of three dozen burgundy, received as a sample from Rio Janeiro; and I have given orders also for some flour, received on my own account from Rio Janeiro, to be given to Mr. Balcombe for the use of the establishment."

Another case of three dozen burgundy was afterwards sent, and two casks of the best constantia. The Governor repeatedly provided the purveyor with American flour, butter, cheese, and other articles, out of his own stores, when there was any deficiency.

[2] Extract of a note from Sir Hudson Lowe to the orderly officer. dated August 27, 1817:—"The bearer will deliver a bag of coffee sent me by Mr. Farquhar, Governor of the Isle of France, destined particularly for

&c., have been supplied, which are not noticed in the schedules.

"On the 5th March, 1818, subsequent to the death of Cipriani and departure of General Gourgaud, Count Montholon informed me he had desired the purveyor to send a lesser proportion of Teneriffe wine, in consequence of the death of the former; and stated his intention also of making a reduction in the other wines, the meat, and the bread, as there was a greater quantity of these last articles provided than was necessary for the actual number of persons in the establishment. I said the Governor wished the house to be amply provided, though at the same time he was desirous that *waste* should be avoided as much as possible, which there was reason to suppose had taken place, from upwards of 20 lbs. of wax candles having been found in possession of one of the English soldier servants employed at the house. The Count spoke much about the waste occasioned by General Gourgaud's mode of living, and said that their eating separately had certainly caused an increased consumption, but that now there would be one table less to provide for; and he added, 'Soyez sûr que nous sommes très bien persuadés de la bonne volonté du Gouverneur.' On my showing him copy of the schedule C, he said there was, it appeared, an increase in several articles, which the late 'maître-d'hôtel' (Cipriani) had not mentioned to him, and which he was not before aware of, in consequence of not having for a long time past examined his books, on account of his (the 'maître-d'hôtel's') illness and death; but he promised to

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General Bonaparte's use. It is the whole of what I received, and is of a quality that *cannot be again readily procured.* Another bag is sent up of the best quality that can be generally had—recommended also as *being superior*, but not so perfect as the other."

examine the list which I left with him, and to make such alterations as the reduction in the numbers of the establishment would permit.

"On the 21st March I again saw Count Montholon, who in the course of conversation respecting the supplies for the establishment said, 'Nous n'avons aucun reproche à faire au Gouverneur; nous ne nous plaignions de rien, et nous avons abondance de tout ce qui est nécessaire;' that he found since he last saw me, 8 bottles of claret daily would be sufficient, and 1 of vin de Grave; that from 10 to 15 bottles of Champagne monthly would be quite ample; one of Constantia daily was more than was used (particularly as they had received 360 bottles of Constantia the preceding year, besides what was regularly furnished by the purveyor); that they always had an ample provision of Champagne, even at times too much, for at the very moment he was speaking there were no less than 3 cases in their possession untouched, and more than a case of vin de Grave; that sending them more of those wines than they used was 'inutile,' as they would be obliged to say, 'You give us too great a quantity,' and it was therefore better they should apply for it when wanted. 'Presque toutes les fois,' continued he, 'que Mr. Darling vient ici, il me demande, Avez vous assez de vin? vous manque-t-il quelque chose? et je lui réponds toujours, que nous ne manquons de rien.'

"The Count said he had found much fault with Cipriani for allowing 1 bottle of claret daily to the cook, it never having been their intention that wine should have been used but 'pour la table des maîtres,' and he had immediately ordered it to be discontinued; that, notwithstanding the good opinion he had of Cipriani, he found there had been a good deal of 'coulage' (leakage) under him.

"Count Montholon then mentioned to me all the reductions he thought might be made in the supplies, and I took a memorandum of them under his own eye.

"The 'Emperor' had observed to him, he added, that although they thought proper to keep separate tables that was not a reason why the British Government should be burthened with any greater expense in consequence. The Count again acknowledged his sense of the attention the Governor had paid to their being well provided.

"I mentioned to Count Montholon that the purveyorship was to be conducted under the care of Mr. Ibbetson from the 1st of April ensuing, as Mr. Balcombe's situation of purveyor would cease on the 31st of March. He replied, that was a subject in which they of course took no interest; it signified nothing to them whether this or that person was employed as 'fournisseur;' it was naturally a matter for the Governor's determination.

"The preceding details on the supplies provided for the establishment at Longwood from September, 1816, to December, 1817, will generally refute Mr. O'Meara's allegations on that subject.

"Mr. O'Meara states, that 'an order was given in writing by the Governor, directing Mr. Breame, the Company's farmer, to supply the French monthly with a stipulated quantity of veal at their own expense;' the demand was made through him. He then proceeds to assert 'that Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, having been rigidly restricted by Sir Hudson Lowe to a certain price in the purchase of sheep, the mutton was frequently of a very bad quality, as no good sheep were to be obtained from the farmers at the prices fixed by him, although good ones were to be purchased at a considerable increase. Similar

restrictions in the price of poultry also frequently prevented any of good quality from arriving at Longwood.'

"There never was any permanently fixed price for the sheep, as will be apparent by reference to the purveyor's accounts transmitted to England.

"From the 1st July up to the 23rd October, 1816, the price of sheep charged by the purveyor never exceeded, but in the instance of a single one (which cost 2*l.* 10*s.*), 2*l.* 5*s.*;[1] and when his supplies failed him, he was allowed to receive from the East India Company's stockyard good stall-fed sheep at that rate.

"From the 24th October to the 5th December he continued receiving sheep as he required them from the Company's stockyard, but at the rate of 2*l.* 10*s.*, the price having been increased from the former date 5*s.* a-head.

"The number of sheep in the Company's stockyard being at this time very much reduced, and it becoming necessary to reserve a sufficient supply for the use of the hospitals, Mr. Balcombe was desired to endeavour to procure them elsewhere,[2] and on the 3rd of December he reported to the Governor that the island farmers asked 2*l.* 15*s.*; the Governor (now referred to for the first time with respect to the price) did not see any motive, because the purveyor had not made a previous arrangement for a regular supply from the Cape, that any encouragement should be held out to increase the market price on the island, and he there-

[1] During the months of February and March, 1816, *i. e.* previous to the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, the average price of island sheep was 2*l.* 15*s.*

[2] Note from Mr. Balcombe to Major Gorrequer, dated December 3, 1817:—"I have supplied all the sheep I had to the Longwood establishment at 50*s.* each, and have made application to the farmers to know their prices, and find the lowest will be 55*s.* each. I shall be obliged to you to let me know as early as possible whether his Excellency the Governor will permit me to purchase them from the farmers at that rate."

fore directed that the purveyor should obtain them from the Company's farm at the usual rate.

"From the 5th December to the 11th February, 1817, the purveyor was consequently supplied from the Company's farm at the rate of 2*l.* 10*s*; the sheep from this farm, which is the largest on the island, being equal to those bred on other farms.

"On the 9th of February the purveyor was directed to establish a regular stockyard, for the sole purpose of stall-feeding cattle and sheep for the Longwood establishment; he commenced forming his flock of sheep from those he had received from the Company's farm, but, not being able to procure a sufficiency from thence, he began on the 12th of February purchasing them from the island farmers at the rate of 3*l.* each, and furnished his stockyard partly from the island farmers, partly from the Company's farm, and sheep imported into the island.[1]

"The sheep purchased at the lowest prices, it however will be found by reference to the purveyor's accounts, were those which weighed most.

"The expense of the sheep furnished from the purveyor's stockyard from the 9th of February to the 30th June, 1817, was found so great, as will appear by the letter marked F, that from that date they were directed to be exclusively supplied from the East India Company's stockyard; and the average price of them (Cape breed) has ever since been from 1*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* to 2*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, including keep and fattening. From that period the best mutton has been invariably sup-

[1] Extract from a note from Major Gorrequer to Mr. Balcombe, dated January 10, 1817:—"A complaint has been made, through the orderly officer at Longwood, of the quality of the mutton sent up these two or three last days. Will you be good enough to give the strictest directions that it is sent up of the best quality?"

plied, and no complaints on that head have been made at Longwood. On the contrary, acknowledgments have been received of their satisfaction.

"The purveyor was always permitted to charge 5*s.* 6*d.* for fowls, which was 6*d.* more than the current price, in order that there should be no complaint at Longwood, and also to indemnify himself for such as might die; but as the fowls were, notwithstanding, disapproved of, and that [as ?] one of the French servants at Longwood had offered to furnish them of a better sort, he (the French servant) was allowed 6*s.* apiece for them; and a poultry-house was built for him at the public expense, to enable him to rear them, which he continued to do for some months. The market-price was at this time only 5*s.* The price charged by the purveyor for all sorts of poultry was always the highest paid in the island. The steward of Plantation House, where the greatest consumption takes place, was always found (whenever questioned on the price of poultry) to pay less than the purveyor; since the purveyorship was put into other hands the price of fowls has never exceeded 5*s.*, and those of approved description.

"The highest price was always paid to ensure good butcher's meat (*i. e.* island beef when supplied). The purveyor had tonnage appropriated to him for the purpose of importing cattle, sheep, poultry, and all other kind of stock and provisions by every Government vessel which went to the Cape or other places for supplies, and which, had he fully availed himself of, would have enabled him to obtain all those articles at perhaps one-third, or at least one-half, of the island prices.

"As a proof how little restricted the purveyor was in the price of the supplies for Longwood, notwith-

standing a salary of 500*l.* per annum, and the means afforded him of importing free of freight, the annexed paper[1] will show that he charged the retail price upon articles which ought to have been procured at a price much below that of the dealers. But would it have been just towards the inhabitants, the navy and military, ships taking in refreshments, and strangers arriving at the island, that the purveyor should have been left to his own discretion to pay any price for articles of consumption, merely because they were for General Bonaparte's establishment, and that he knew Government would repay him, thus enhancing the market prices to the prejudice of all others? And was it not proper that before he increased his charges he should have made it appear that a necessity for it existed?

"Previous to the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe a tariff of prices had been established for all sorts of fresh provisions on the island, but since the increase of population it has not been enforced, and the compe-

[1] Comparative Rate of Prices.

ARTICLES.		Prime Cost at the Cape or elsewhere.	Island Prices.	Purveyor's Prices.
		s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
Madeira	per bottle	3 4	5 10	5 10
Constantia	do.	6 0	10 6	10 6
Teneriffe	do.	2 3	4 2	4 2
Cape wine	do.	1 3	2 6	2 6
Rum	do.	2 6	- -	6 6
Cape butter	per lb.	1 3	2/6 to 3/	2 6
Lard	do.	- -	2 0	1 6
Vinegar	per bottle	- -	2 6	1 6
Rice	per cwt.	16 0	1/4/0	1/10/0
Coffee	do.	0 10	3 0	1 6
Flour	do.	0 5	- -	0 5
Salt	per gallon	- -	2 0	1 1
Pepper	per lb.	0 8	2 0	2 0
Capers	per pint	- -	6 0	5 3
Soap	per lb.	0 9	- -	1 3
Loaf sugar	do.	1 9	2 6	2 6

tition in the market has generally regulated the price; how much, therefore, under such circumstances, could not the purveyor have influenced those prices, by giving higher ones to the prejudice of the public!

"In saying that there was a stop put to fresh butter for Longwood by the Governor's purchasing the cows that formerly supplied the milk that made it, Mr. O'Meara is in contradiction with his own scale, as he therein mentions fresh butter as one of the items. The fact is, that it was for a long time very rarely to be had, and when procured very poor, and good Cape butter very superior. The farmer who contracts for the beef, forage, &c., at last engaged to make it purposely for General Bonaparte, who has ever since been constantly supplied with the best. Half a pound per day was the quantity first ordered to be sent to Longwood, but the 'maître-d'hôtel' said it was too much, and he himself fixed the quantity required to be furnished; the price is 7*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

"With regard to Mr. O'Meara's assertion, that until *October*, 1817, when Sir Hudson Lowe caused island bullocks to be slaughtered, the meat was almost invariably of a bad quality, &c., and that 'from being carted up in the sun it was often, on its arrival, stinking, and unfit for human use,' I shall quote what Mr. O'Meara said a month previous (viz. on the 2nd September, 1817) in my presence to Sir Hudson Lowe upon this subject, in consequence of the latter adverting to what Santini had asserted in his pamphlet on that point:—

"'That he (Mr. O'Meara) had in three or four instances sent back meat which was fly-blown, in consequence of being brought up not properly sheltered from the rays of the sun; it had, however, come up in that state but a very few times, as it was afterwards

properly covered over; that Santini would of course exaggerate the thing as much as possible.'

"The Governor having asked him if, on the occasion of his sending the meat back, the same quantity had always been replaced, he answered, Yes, certainly, he believed, but perhaps not in every case the same day. He further stated that the meat sent up *for a long time past* had been *extremely good.*

"Mr. O'Meara declares, 'that several articles indispensable to the table were frequently of bad quality, in consequence of Sir Hudson Lowe's having compelled the purveyor to purchase damaged and musty provisions at the Company's stores,' &c. The purveyor was in the habit of purchasing from the stores before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, and it was continued because the articles from thence were equally good as in the shops, and at a lower rate; there were very few articles of a perishable nature in the stores; and if the purveyor had ever received anything of a bad quality from thence, he would have been acting in direct opposition to the Governor's directions, which always were to provide the best of everything. In some cases, however, where cheese was represented by him not so fresh in the stores as could be procured in the town, he was desired to purchase them [it?] there.

"Mr. O'Meara also asserts, that 'any savings made by the French in articles allowed by the Governor and not consumed by them (the English confectionery for example) were ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to be credited to the account of Government, instead of allowing the French to balance by means of them (as they desired) any increase of consumption in other articles.' So far the reverse, on a representation being made that the allowance of confectionery was

more than requisite, the surplus was, and has ever since been, appropriated to a further supply of vegetables as desired, in addition to what was before provided as per schedule.[1]

"The following statement of Mr. O'Meara, viz. that 'on the 8th of April, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe required that the French should not draw more than 100*l.* per month for the extra expenses of the establishment and of their private families, but that, when Madame Bertrand or the others wanted to make purchases, she or they should apply through the orderly officer specifying them, and then that payment should be made to the venders by "bons" drawn upon Major Gorrequer, and countersigned by the orderly officer at Longwood,' I shall refute by giving the following relation of what passed in conversation between Count Bertrand and myself on the 1st, 7th, and 8th April, viz.:—

"On the 1st of April, 1818, Count Bertrand having requested to see me at Longwood, he delivered to me the paper annexed,[2] containing the statement of certain sums they would require, he said, to draw for monthly, by bills on England, for the use of the establishment, the families, and paying the wages of the

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[1] Memorandum sent to the purveyor by Major Gorrequer, November 21, 1816:—"If the whole allowance for confectionery is not used, the saving under that head may be laid out in vegetables, if so required."

[2] Répartition mensuelle de fonds pour les besoins de Longwood:—

1°.	Au Signor Marchand, pour la toilette de l'Empereur .	1,000 fr.
2°.	Pour les besoins de la maison, au Signor Pierron . .	3,475
3°.	Au Comte Bertrand	2,000
4°.	Au Comte Montholon	2,000
5°.	Aux domestiques pour gages	1,525
	Total	fr. 10,000

S'il se présentait quelques dépenses extraordinaires, on y pourvoirait par une répartition *ad hoc*.

domestics, &c., and begged Mr. Ibbetson might be allowed to cash bills to that amount, and pay them the sums as therein specified.

"On the 7th of April I again waited on Count Bertrand, and informed him the Governor would give authority for the payment of the following items of the '*Répartition mensuelle*,' viz.—To Marchand, for the toilette, 1000 francs; to Count Bertrand, 2000 francs; to Count Montholon, 2000 francs; and for the domestics' wages, 1525 francs; but that he considered 2400 francs monthly as the utmost he would be justified in continuing the payment of on account of the house expenses (and *that only when the case of an actual expenditure was made out*), as the supplies were at present so amply furnished.' If more was at any time wanting, a demand 'ad hoc' should be made. That his objection, however, was not so much to the amount as to the form of payment; he did not wish so much money to be paid in hand; all bills for the house or private expenses might be paid, to the amount specified in the monthly '*répartition*,' by a check on Mr. Ibbetson. The Governor suggested this as the best mode to pursue, as well for private convenience as to obviate difficulty, both on his part and that of Government, whose instructions would not bear the Governor out in cash payments, except under such forms. I then handed him a printed check-book to be used in giving orders (or 'bons') on Mr. Ibbetson.

"On the 8th of April Count Bertrand again requested to see me at Longwood, and, having called upon him, he showed me some papers particularising various incidental expenses they were obliged to incur, and strongly urged that the amount of the monthly *répartition* might be paid them in cash by Mr. Ibbetson, General Bonaparte having expressed his most

decided determination not to admit the checks. I again repeated that it was not so much against the amount of the sums demanded monthly that the Governor had any objection, as against payments in cash generally, where he had not the means of ascertaining the mode in which it was expended.

"After these conversations with Count Bertrand, Mr. Ibbetson was authorised by the Governor to pay the monthly *répartition*, in consequence of the explanation given by Count Bertrand of the intended appropriation of the different sums therein mentioned, and the difficulty which he represented of their discharging in all cases their bills by 'bons;' and Mr. Ibbetson, on receiving drafts upon a house in London for the amount of the monthly *répartition*, paid the sums therein specified to the persons indicated.

"Mr. O'Meara's assertion that 100*l.* was all that Sir Hudson Lowe would allow to be drawn for the *extra expenses of the establishment and of their private families*, when the monthly répartition submitted and authorised to be paid after the conversation with Count Bertrand on the 8th of April was 10,000 francs, or 416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, is just as correct as the other assertion which follows it, viz., if Madame Bertrand, &c., wanted to make purchases, that payment should be made to the venders by 'bons' drawn upon Major Gorrequer, when it is notorious I never had a fraction of public money in my hands since I came to this island, nor of money of the establishment at Longwood in my possession or under my charge, the purveyor having been the only person who transacted their pecuniary concerns.

"In the conversation I had with Count Bertrand on the 8th of April, he made the following remark:—

"'L'Empereur n'a qu'à parler pour avoir des

millions; il n'a qu'à donner un morceau de papier de cette grandeur là' (showing me a bit of paper of an inch square) 'qui vaudrait un million.'

"On the 16th October, 1818, Count Montholon said to Sir Hudson Lowe in my presence,—

"'Je me plais aussi à vous rendre justice sur un autre sujet; c'est a dire, l'approvisionnement de la maison, où vous avez mis toute sorte d'attentions, et qui est arrivé à un degré de régularité que nous n'avions jamais connu auparavant. Si j'avais à déclarer mes sentiments là dessus, je dirais que le service de la maison n'a jamais été aussi bien fait comme il l'est aujourd'hui, et l'a été depuis longtems; que nous n'avons jamais été aussi abondamment pourvus que nous le sommes actuellement (même du commencement), et qu'il ne nous reste rien à désirer sur cet objet; qu'on supplée amplement à tous nos besoins, et qu'il n'y a eu depuis notre arrivée que pendant quelque tems seulement, à l'occasion du retranchement que par suite des ordres de votre Gouvernement vous avez été obligé de faire, où nous ayons manqué de quelque chose.'[1]

"St. Helena, 1819."

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[1] "GENERAL STATEMENT of the WINES supplied for GENERAL BONAPARTE'S ESTABLISHMENT, from October 1, 1816, to June 30, 1817.

Quarter commencing October 1, *and ending December* 31, 1816.

	Bottles.
Supplied from the Government stores:—	
Claret	830
Vin de grave	72
Champagne	36
Supplied by the purveyor:—	
Cape	2038
Teneriffe	552
Madeira	104
Constantia	92

Quarter

About this time Sir Hudson Lowe received a letter from Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, where it will be remembered Las Cases

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Quarter from January 1 to March 31, 1817.

Supplied from the Government stores :—	Bottles.
Claret	816
Port	24
Vin de grave	120
Champagne	36
Supplied by the purveyor :—	
Cape	1620
Teneriffe	540
Madeira	90
Constantia	90

Quarter from April 1 to June 30, 1817.

Supplied from the Government stores :—	
Claret	732
Vin de grave	120
Champagne	36
Supplied by the purveyor :—	
Cape	1642
Teneriffe	546
Madeira	91
Constantia	91

The quantity of malt liquors supplied for the period below mentioned was 1512 bottles, viz. :—

	Bottles.
Quarter from October 1 to December 31, 1816	504
Ditto January 1 to March 31, 1817	492
Ditto April 1 to June 30	300
Ditto July 1 to September 30	216
	1512

Mr. O'MEARA'S SCALE, referred to in the foregoing OBSERVATIONS.

Allowed by Government from October, 1816, to June, 1817 :—

Daily.

Meat, beef and mutton included	82 lbs.
Fowls, in number	6
Bread	66 lbs.
Butter	5 „
	L 2

Lard

proceeded on quitting St. Helena, and in it he thus spoke of the Count and his Journal:—

"The whole of the Count's publication (if it really

Lard	2 lbs.
Salad oil	3½ pints.
Sugar-candy	4 lbs.
Coffee	2 „
Tea, green	½ „
Do. black	½ „
Candles, wax	8 „
Eggs, in number	30
Common sugar	5 lbs.
Cheese	1 „
Vinegar	1 quart.
Flour	5 lbs.
Salt meat	6 „
Firewood	3 cwt.
Porter or ale	3 bottles.
Vegetables, in value	20*s.*
Fruit „	10*s.*
Confectionery „	8*s.*

Per Fortnight.

Ducks, in number	8
Turkeys, „	2
Geese, „	2
Loaf sugar	2 loaves.
Fine rice	½ bag.
Hams (not to exceed 14 lbs. each), in number	2
Coals	45 bushels.
Fish, in value	80*s.*
Milk, „	98*s.*
Fresh butter, salt, mustard, pepper, capers, lamp-oil, peas, not to exceed in value	7*l.*

Wine, daily.

	Bottles.
Champagne, or vin de grave	1
Madeira	1
Constantia	1
Claret	6

N.B.—Since the departure of Las Cases and Piontkowski the meat has been reduced to 72 lbs. daily, and 5 fowls daily. Cape wine for the servants, at the rate of a bottle a day, was also given by Government, not included in the above scale."

be his) is so contemptible a performance, that I own his wailings and his complaints, as far as they involve myself, are matters perfectly indifferent to me: with regard to his assertions respecting the Cape, and his treatment here, I know them to be so absolutely and impudently false, that it is not too much to presume that there is not a single correct statement in the whole book."

CHAPTER XXIV.

RUMOURS OF PLANS FOR ESCAPE — DR. VERLING'S ACCOUNT OF PROPOSAL MADE TO HIM BY COUNT MONTHOLON — NAPOLEON'S STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES TO MR. RICKETTS — SIR HUDSON LOWE'S EXPLANATION OF HIS REFUSAL TO COMMUNICATE WITH COUNT BERTRAND — DIFFICULTIES THROWN IN THE WAY OF THE ORDERLY OFFICER — DEPARTURE OF MADAME MONTHOLON FROM ST. HELENA — BRIBE OFFERED TO CAPTAIN RIPLEY TO CONVEY A LETTER FROM LONGWOOD TO EUROPE — DEPARTURE OF SIR GEORGE BINGHAM.

IN the course of the month the Governor received other despatches from Lord Bathurst, in one of which he authorised him to dispense with the delivery of regular bulletins of Napoleon's health if he continued to object to them. They were in future only to be required in case of serious indisposition. In another despatch Lord Bathurst gave instructions that, in the event of Bonaparte being seen by some British medical officer at those times of the day which he had pointed out in a former letter, it would not be necessary for the Governor to insist on the admission of the orderly officer, provided he himself received from the medical officer, each morning and evening, an assurance that Bonaparte was indisposed, and actually at Longwood.

These despatches were accompanied by a private letter from Mr. Goulburn, which is worth quoting, to show how much apprehension was felt in England as to the possibility of Napoleon's escape. He said that an East India captain had reported that an Ameri-

can ship had put into St. Helena on the plea of distress, and that on examination it proved that she was only deficient in water, which deficiency was supposed to have been purposely created. Mr. Goulburn mentioned that the captain had further added that a vessel had been for some time observed in the offing of St. Helena, the sailing of which had proved so superior to that of the ships of war on the station, by whom she had been repeatedly chased, that all attempts to come up with her had failed, and that the same vessel had frequently, after being chased, re-appeared in her original station, and continued for a length of time to hover round the island. From this description it would appear as if the captain who told the story had seen a vision of the Flying Dutchman, which was supposed to frequent those seas; but the Ministry at home thought, not unreasonably perhaps, that the mysterious stranger was connected with some plan for the escape of the great captive.

Mr. Goulburn added,—"You will have probably seen in the papers the letter addressed by General Gourgaud to the Duchess of Parma, giving an account of General Buonaparte's health and treatment utterly at variance with all that he had previously stated either to you or to me. What has given rise to this change of proceeding on his part it is impossible to say, but he has latterly associated entirely with Mr. O'Meara, and other persons known to be in the confidence of General Buonaparte's friends. As permission to reside here was given him solely on the condition of his continuing to conduct himself with propriety, the provisions of the Alien Act have been put in force with respect to him, and he has been sent to Hamburgh, from whence, I suppose, he will from time to time promulgate the same fabricated accounts of

General Buonaparte's treatment which others of his former companions have indulged in in other parts of Europe."

The Governor enclosed extracts from the instructions he had just received in a packet addressed "Note for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte," and sent it to Count Montholon to deliver to Bonaparte. In this note he told him that, if he would signify his acquiescence in the propositions contained in the extracts, he (the Governor) would immediately act upon them. At the same time he specified what would in that case be the parts of the island which he would not be allowed to visit unless accompanied by a British officer. Several days, however, elapsed before the note came into the hands of Bonaparte, as Montholon pleaded illness and inability to visit the Emperor.

On the 1st of April Count Montholon made a remarkable proposal to Dr. Verling, which, as the latter wrote a memorandum of it at the time, shall be given in his own words:—"Having had occasion to visit at Count Montholon's, he took an opportunity, when we were alone, of introducing the subject of Napoleon's choosing a surgeon. He said that I must be aware that he had long endeavoured to fix Napoleon's choice on me, and how flattering it would be to me should I now be chosen, notwithstanding that I was the person selected by the Governor, as this must be attributed to the favourable impressions made by my conduct during the eight months I had been at Longwood. He informed me that propositions, which the Governor might perhaps accept, had this morning been made, and, if accepted, Napoleon would instantly choose a surgeon, but that he could not think of having near him 'l'homme du Gouverneur;' by this he meant, he

said, any person whose views of promotion and of self-interest might prompt him to act under the Governor's influence. If, on the contrary, I was willing to become 'l'homme de l'Empereur,' to attach myself 'comme le sien propre,' he (Count Montholon) was authorised to make a proposal to me, which he advised me to accept, as I should at once obtain a degree of his confidence by avowing the motive of making my fortune—a motive much more intelligible to him than any vague declaration of admiration of the man.

"He then said that Napoleon was willing to give me an allowance of 12,000 francs per annum, to be paid monthly; and as he (Count Montholon) had represented to him the danger I might incur 'de perdre mon état,' pointing out the examples of Mr. O'Meara and Mr. Stokoe, he would at once advance a sum to be paid into my pocket in bills upon the house of Baring, the interest of which should be equal to my present pay from the British Government. He asked the amount of my pay, and I told him nearly 1*l.* per day on the island. He went on—Napoleon would not require from me anything which should compromise me with Government, or with any tribunal, or even in public opinion; that Mr. O'Meara had never been required to do anything of this nature. I should be enabled, when I saw him, to judge of the state of his liver, which he himself thought was much diseased; *that in my bulletins my report might lean rather to an augmentation than a diminution of the malady; that I might draw the line rather above than below, as he was still in hopes that 'la force des choses' might remove him from St. Helena.* He, however (Count Montholon), was much more in dread of apoplexy attacking Napoleon, to which they all thought he had

a strong tendency, but advised me to be guarded upon this subject, as it was one upon which he would not converse, and from which he wished to avert his thoughts.

"To this proposal I replied that I conceived it totally incompatible with my duty to enter into a private agreement with Napoleon Bonaparte."

At a subsequent interview Count Montholon told Dr. Verling that the hint, as he termed it, thrown out relative to the exaggeration of Napoleon's maladies, came entirely from himself, and that Napoleon only required that he should conduct himself faithfully (*loyalement*) towards him, pledging himself never to make any written report of the state of his health without giving him a copy, and also that he would never repeat any conversations he might hear at Longwood, unless he should conceive they were of a nature which rendered it his duty as a British subject to divulge them. Dr. Verling replied that he could not enter into any pledge or promise secretly, and that if such were necessary they should be made known clearly to him by the Governor.

On the 2nd of April, in the afternoon, Mr. Ricketts, a cousin of Lord Liverpool, was presented to Napoleon by Count Bertrand, and remained in conversation with him for four hours. Napoleon entered fully upon the subject of his grievances, and gave his visitor the following memorandum in writing, as containing a short abstract of his wishes and complaints :—

"1°. Sortir de l'île, parceque j'ai une hépathitis chronique.

"2°. Qu'en quelque position où je sois, la raison politique est de mettre près de moi un homme d'honneur qui ait des formes.

"3°. M'envoyer mon médecin O'Meara, m'en donner un François, ou m'en envoyer un Anglais civil qui n'ait aucun lien militaire, et bien famé.

"4°. Ne pas me contraindre à habiter la nouvelle maison, parcequ'il n'y a pas d'arbres, parcequ'elle est trop près du camp, et qu'elle est dans la position de l'île où il n'y a pas d'arbres; que c'est un chêne que je désire.

"5°. Que si Lord Liverpool envoie l'ordre qu'on ne viole pas mon intérieur, qu'on ne m'en menace point.

"6°. Qu'il autorise une correspondance directe avec lui cachetée, et qui ne passe pas par Lord Bathurst; ou avec un pair du royaume qui soit notre avocat près du ministère, tel que Lord Holland: c'est le moyen que le public ne s'occupe plus de cela."

Napoleon also desired Mr. Ricketts to give his "remercîments" to Lord and Lady Holland for their attention in sending him books, and presents to Bertrand's children; his "remercîments" also to the Duke of Sussex, and his "souvenirs" to Lord Amherst.

On the 3rd Count Montholon wrote to the Governor, stating that he was unwell, and requesting him to address himself to Count Bertrand in any written communication he might have to make. He complained also that the Emperor felt himself aggrieved and insulted by the form in which Sir Hudson had lately transmitted the "note" to Longwood for his information, having addressed it to "Napoleon Bonaparte." The Governor in his reply expressed his regret that Bonaparte should consider himself as outraged, and said, "In using the name of 'Napoleon Bonaparte' I have strictly followed his own desire, communicated to me by Count Bertrand; whilst in writing papers for his own information, and enclosing

them to a person of his family for delivery, it has been my real wish and study to adopt that mode of address and communication which I conceived was least likely to prove displeasing to him." And with reference to the suggestion that he should write to General Bertrand, Sir Hudson Lowe added, "Upon this point I wish to be most distinctly understood. Regard to peculiar circumstances in the situation of Napoleon Bonaparte, mixed with certain consideration towards the family of Count Bertrand, have hitherto alone prevented me from removing Count Bertrand from Longwood; but the forbearance I have on such grounds practised must have its term, nor whilst it continues can I suffer any undue advantage to be drawn from it. I have no pretension to interfere in any private relation between Napoleon Bonaparte and any of the French officers who have followed him hither; but I am myself resolved not to enter into any communication, by writing or otherwise, with Count Bertrand, or suffer any person under my authority to enter into such with him, on any affair whatever that regards my duties towards the person upon whom he is in attendance.

"In the letter which Count Bertrand addressed to me on the 27th April, 1818, afterwards made public, he himself withdrew from any communication with me respecting the affairs of Napoleon Bonaparte; and in a letter I addressed to him on the 21st July, I desired he would not depart from this rule. The language he has besides at various times held to officers of my staff, and others whose duties have led them near him, has been in the highest degree disrespectful and insulting."

The difficulties experienced by Captain Nicholls in the discharge of his duty as orderly officer, in conse-

quence of Bonaparte's wilfully concealing himself from his observation, may be judged of from some entries in his journal during this month:—April 3rd. "Napoleon still keeps himself concealed. I have not been able to see him since the 25th ultimo." . . . . . April 19th. "I again waited on Montholon, and told him that I could not see Napoleon. He appeared surprised, and said they had seen me. N.B. General Bonaparte has got in most of his billiard-room windows small holes to put his spy-glass through; consequently he is able to see them [*i. e.* persons] without being himself exposed to observation. A few minutes past 6 P.M. General Bonaparte appeared in his back flower-garden, dressed in green, with his cocked hat. I believe it was Bertrand that was with him. I was nearly twelve hours on my legs this day, endeavouring to see Napoleon Bonaparte, before I succeeded, and I have experienced many such days since I have been stationed at Longwood. While at dinner this evening Sergeant Kitts told me that Napoleon was walking in Longwood garden between 7 and 8 P.M. Montholon told me this day that General Bonaparte could not appear out of his quarters, he was so chilly and cold." . . . . "23rd. I believe that I saw Napoleon Bonaparte today in the act of strapping his razor in his dressing-room."

On the 28th of April a conversation occurred between Count Montholon and Major Gorrequer on the race-ground, when the Major inquired after the Countess, whom her husband represented as in a very bad state of health, owing to the liver complaint. He asked, "Does she still adhere to her intention of going away?" "Oh, mon Dieu!" answered Montholon, "oui, bien certainement." "But you, Monsieur le Comte, you remain?" "Ah! non; je pense bien

toujours partir; je ne veux pas laisser aller ma femme sans l'accompagner." He then began to explain the conflict he had daily to go through with Napoleon, who tried every means of persuasion to induce him to change his intention, and urged him at all events to remain until an application could be made to the British Government for another person to replace him and an answer could arrive, which would only make a difference to him of six months. Napoleon said he did not care who was sent out; it was of little consequence, provided he were a person who was able to write expeditiously and correctly, understood French well, and one whom he could employ in writing for him, for this kind of occupation was a great source of distraction to his mind, and when he lost Count Montholon, and was deprived of the means of pursuing this habit, his situation would become doubly irksome and painful. Napoleon added, according to the Count's statement, that Bertrand could not compensate his loss, as he was not "un homme de travail," and he could not consequently render him the same services.

Major Gorrequer afterwards inquired after the health of Bonaparte, and Montholon represented him as "se plaignant toujours d'être très souffrant, quoique cependant je ne m'apperçoive pas qu'il empire; il prenait son bain quand je suis sorti." On this Major Gorrequer made some remark on the tendency to produce debility and depression of spirits which this frequent use of the warm bath must have; and Montholon replied that he himself would also be of the same opinion had not the Emperor assured him that it acted differently upon him, and produced a bracing effect on his constitution. It seems, however, impossible to believe that this could really be the case,

for the result of such constant immersion in hot water must have been great relaxation of the muscles, and opening of the pores of the skin, so as to render the body extremely susceptible of cold.

With reference to the subject of the departure of Napoleon's suite, there is a curious passage in one of Sir Hudson Lowe's letters to Lord Bathurst, dated the 19th of April this year, by which it appears that the Emperor issued a novel sort of command to General Bertrand in order to secure his stay in the island:—

"It will be observed by Madame Bertrand's letter to Lady Malcolm that she is in a state of pregnancy. Upon a former occasion, when Madame Bertrand was urging her husband to leave the island, and he made known her and his own desires to General Bonaparte on the subject, saying she could never be happy here, the reply made was, '*Faites lui encore un enfant.*' This always creates the delay of removal for a year, and serves Madame Bertrand also as a 'distraction.' It serves further as a kind of protection to the Count himself against any strong measure on my part towards him; but I shall still be equally solicitous for some particular instruction from your Lordship as to the course I am to pursue with him."

On the 29th Sir Hudson wrote to Lord Bathurst, and said,—

"It is my intention, if no French medical attendant arrives in the William Pitt, or either of the other two store-ships, to propose to Dr. Arnott that he should relieve Dr. Verling at Longwood, having received the most favourable accounts of his private character, as well as his professional skill, and having reason to believe that he enjoyed in a very particular manner the confidence and esteem of two very distinguished

officers by whom the 20th Regiment had been commanded, the late Major-General Robert Ross, and Colonel Sir John Colborne."

The following report from Captain Nicholls to Major Gorrequer, dated the 15th of May, 1819, will show the extraordinary difficulties interposed by Napoleon in the way of the execution of his duty. Surely, there was something of childish obstinacy in the determination of the fallen Emperor not to submit to the requisition that his actual presence at Longwood should be daily ascertained by the orderly officer. Such conduct was neither dignified nor reasonable:—

"I received your note late last night, and this morning I again waited upon Count Montholon, and stated to him that it was absolutely necessary that I or some other officer should daily see General Bonaparte, and that my orders on this head were very positive. I also requested that the Count would be pleased to point out a certain room for me to see Napoleon, or that some one of General Bonaparte's family would inform me where he would be seen. The Count said he would state this to Napoleon. In the afternoon I again saw Count Montholon, and he told me that he had mentioned the above to Napoleon Bonaparte, but had received no answer.

"I must here beg leave to state, that in the execution of my duty yesterday I was upon my feet upwards of *ten hours*, endeavouring to procure a sight of Napoleon Bonaparte, either in his little garden, or at one of his windows, but could not succeed; that during the whole of this time I was exposed to the observations and remarks of not only the French servants, but also to the gardeners and other persons

employed about Longwood House; and that I have very *frequently* experienced days of this kind since I have been employed on this duty."

On the 26th of May Count Montholon called on the Governor to request permission for his wife to return to Europe, in consequence of her bad state of health. The Governor observed that the Count was aware of the rule which prescribed that all persons of the establishment at Longwood desiring to return to Europe were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope in the first instance, until the instructions of the British Government arrived respecting their further destination; and although he had been induced in the case of General Gourgaud, in consequence of the particular circumstances in which he stood, to take upon his own responsibility to send him to Europe direct, instead of the Cape, yet this deviation in one particular instance, and under certain circumstances, did not form a precedent, or furnish any reason for again dispensing with a rule which still remained in force. That, whether from premeditated design or not, it had nevertheless occurred that, on every occasion of persons from Longwood returning to Europe, publications had invariably appeared soon after their arrival there, full of complaints and misrepresentations, and it was therefore impossible to divine what might be the real object, and not to feel mistrust under such circumstances: that it would be therefore proper for his own justification to the British Government to have certificates, not of one, but of three medical persons, to show the necessity of Madame Montholon's return to Europe on account of ill health; that no certificate however was necessary for her quitting Longwood; it was only requisite in case she desired after leaving St. Helena not to be sent to the Cape.

The Count said it was his particular wish that such a certificate should be obtained, and he would be delighted if the medical men gave it as their opinion that there was no necessity for his wife quitting the island on account of her health; that he did not wish her to go by any means, her departure would leave him very unhappy; the way in which they lived together, and his attachment to his children, which the Governor was not a stranger to, would sufficiently prove to him how unhappy his situation would be after the departure of his wife and family. He said that he had frequently requested Dr. Verling, and had also applied to Mr. Livingstone, to sign a certificate of her state of health, but they had declined giving it, fearing, as it appeared to him, that it might be considered as a political question, and that they might compromise themselves; he had even asked Dr. Verling whether the Governor had prohibited his giving it, who assured him he had not, and said that the refusal to do so was his own act. As to sending Madame Montholon to the Cape, he declared "ce serait l'envoyer à la mort;" he therefore entreated the Governor to permit her to go direct to Europe. He said that the latter was himself a father and a husband, and would therefore easily feel for him. He declared that Madame Montholon would charge herself with nothing from thence; her object was to go to France and join her family there, to live retired and peaceably, and interfere in nothing; that he himself had been in hopes of being able to accompany her, and the Emperor had even appeared two or three times to assent to it, but afterwards withdrew, saying, "Comment! vous voulez vous en aller et me laisser seul avec Bertrand comme cela! non." He wanted to have some one in Montholon's place, if he left, who had been near him before,

and was acquainted with his habits, "avec qui il peut causer," and who could write under his dictation, "enfin un autre moi-même," but Montholon said that the Emperor did not care who was selected.

The Governor replied that it was impossible for him to anticipate the sentiments of Government, and therefore could say nothing on the subject; it was necessary Count Montholon should write to him officially respecting the Countess's desire to return to Europe, and at the same time he might state also what he had just said verbally. He added, that before Madame Montholon could proceed to England it was necessary that he should give sufficient previous notice of the application to his Government, and she would have therefore to remain in the island for some weeks after he had given such intimation.

Count Montholon begged that the Governor would have the goodness, in the same despatch by which he signified Madame Montholon's intention of returning to Europe, also to announce his own of accompanying her, if either a medical attendant or a priest arrived before her departure; for, if either of those persons had arrived (as it was hoped they would) by the store-ships, he would not have stayed any longer. He would not, however, stay beyond six months after his wife left him, and whilst he remained he would continue "l'homme de l'Empereur." He wished to leave him on good terms, and not lose the fruit of four years' attendance upon him in such a situation; "mais dès l'instant que je quitte Longwood je rentre dans la classe des citoyens." From that moment his object would solely be to join his wife in France, and to live unknown and forgotten.

Count Montholon immediately afterwards addressed a formal letter to the Governor asking permission

for his wife to go to England, and stating his intention of rejoining her as soon as he could reconcile his departure with the duties which detained him at Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe complied with the Count's request, and two days after the interview with him he wrote to Lord Bathurst detailing their conversation, and said,—

"The Countess Montholon's bad state of health was assigned as the motive for her departure. Her health, it is well known, has been suffering very much, she being stated to be afflicted with liver complaint, dating from a long period back, and having been under the hands of physicians for the same disorder in France; she had lately also endured a miscarriage.

"The season of the year (the middle of winter here) for sending her to the Cape of Good Hope, even supposing her medical attendants did not give their opinion against her being sent there, is besides the most unfavourable. I have judged it best therefore to decide upon allowing her to proceed to Europe within such a space of time from hence as will enable your Lordship to take the same precautions previous to her arrival as might be done if she had been sent by the circuitous route of the Cape, and to enable her also to arrive in Europe before the winter season commences there." He then requested Lord Bathurst's instructions as to the course he was to pursue in the event of Montholon making an application to be allowed to return to Europe himself.

On the morning of the 27th Captain Nicholls met the Count and Countess Bertrand at the bottom of the garden at Longwood, and they appeared both in very low spirits in consequence of the sickness of their youngest child, Arthur. The Countess said that she wished their boy to try change of air, either in some

other part of the island, or on board ship, or at the Cape, where she would with pleasure accompany him if permitted, and she said she cared not if she never returned. The Countess was in tears while she spoke. Captain Nicholls recommended her to mention the circumstance to Dr. Verling, in which advice she acquiesced.

Two days afterwards a conversation took place between Captain Ripley of the H.E.I.C. ship Regent and Sir Thomas Reade, at which the former disclosed a proposal made to him a few days before, which proves what constant attempts were made by the French to carry on a clandestine correspondence with Europe. Captain Ripley stated that, after he had landed at St. Helena on the 24th, he was told by some person (but whom he did not recollect) that, if he consented to be the bearer of a letter from the French at Longwood, he might receive 600*l.* for so doing; and the money would be paid by a draft upon the banking firm of Sir John Lubbock and Co. He was told that, if he would walk on the road between Hutt's Gate and Longwood, he would meet a person who would deliver both the letter and the draft, and to whom he would have to give a pledge of secrecy. He was further assured that two of the commanders of the Company's ships last season had taken letters in a like manner, and had each received a similar draft on the same firm. Sir Thomas Reade several times asked Captain Ripley to recollect if possible the name of the person who gave him this information, but he declared he could not remember.

At the end of this month the Governor sustained a serious loss in the departure of General Sir George Bingham, who had applied for leave of absence to proceed to England on account of his own private

affairs, and also because he felt hurt that the Court of Directors had not confirmed his appointment as member of Council at St. Helena, to which the Governor had provisionally nominated him.

In mentioning the circumstance to Lord Bathurst in a despatch of the 28th of May, Sir Hudson bore the following strong testimony to that officer's merits:—

"It would be difficult for me to express in too strong terms the high sense I entertain of Brigadier General Sir George Bingham's very important and useful services during the period he has been under my command; of his attention towards the comfort as well as discipline of the troops placed under his immediate orders; of the cordial, zealous, and effectual assistance and support I have derived from him on every occasion in the execution of my own duties; and of his vigilance in every point where the public service could be benefited by it; but I cannot afford a stronger proof of the perfect sincerity with which I take the liberty of thus expressing my sense of his conduct than by making known my most earnest desire that he may be enabled soon to return here, and to resume the performance of those duties which he has hitherto executed with so much credit to himself, and so much real advantage to the public service."

On the 7th of June Sir Hudson Lowe sent a "note for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte," in which he told him that it became part of his duty, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the British Government, founded on the protocol of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, already communicated to Napoleon, to afford to the Commissioners of the Allied Sovereigns, who were residing on this island, an opportunity of being enabled to fulfil the object of their mission there by seeing him; and that it was his sincere

desire, as it was the instruction of his Government, that this duty should be performed with the least possible intrusion. He begged therefore that Napoleon Bonaparte would be pleased to name any one day during the course of the present month, and every ensuing month, when the Commissioners might accompany the orderly officer and see him, at any hour between nine and twelve in the forenoon, or between four o'clock and the hour at which the sentries were posted round the garden enclosure in the evening.

To show the inveterate habit of deception practised at Longwood, we will here quote the following passages from a report of the orderly officer, Captain Nicholls, on the 14th of June:—

"At about a quarter past four o'clock yesterday afternoon I waited on Count Montholon to request his assistance, as I had been for nearly two days without seeing General Bonaparte. The Count told me that Napoleon Bonaparte was then in bed (or on it), and consequently I could not see him. In the course of *half an hour after this interview* I unexpectedly saw General Bonaparte in the lower walk of Longwood garden: he was in the act of leaning against a tree, and *full dressed*, in a cocked hat, green coat, white breeches and stockings. The Bertrands joined him soon, and they walked together for a considerable time."

It is no doubt possible that during the half-hour that elapsed after Montholon's statement Bonaparte may have risen and walked out; but the excuse of illness, or being in bed, or in his bath, was so universal, that it requires some charity to believe that the Count was not trying on this occasion to mislead the orderly officer into the belief that Napoleon could not

be seen that morning. And so Captain Nicholls understood his assertion, for he said he mentioned the occurrence "to show the deception which these people are at times in the habit of practising towards me."

That the Governor was not unmindful of the comfort of his prisoners, and was alive to acts of courtesy and politeness, although his conduct has been represented as deficient in both, appears from numerous instances of attention which he paid them, notwithstanding the small encouragement he received. Thus we find him sending pheasants for the use of Bonaparte's table; and Madame Bertrand returning thanks for a donkey which he sent for her little boy, and for a picture in tapestry which had been detained from her by a person in the island, and which the Governor instantly procured for her. These are trifles in themselves, but they are trifles which indicate kindness; and a man's disposition and character are often more clearly shown in little things than in matters of more serious import. He then acts as it were upon a stage before the public, and we cannot always be sure that he is not merely playing a part to secure applause.

The Countess Montholon quitted St. Helena at the beginning of July, and just after she had sailed a note was brought to the Governor for her from her husband, which contained the following passage:—"L'Empereur témoigne un grand regret de ton départ: ses larmes ont coulé pour toi, peut-être pour la première fois de sa vie!" On her leaving Longwood, Napoleon had presented her with the ivory and other ornaments which had been sent to him by Mr. Elphinstone.

CHAPTER XXV.

OBSTINATE REFUSAL OF BONAPARTE TO SHOW HIMSELF TO THE ORDERLY OFFICER — DIFFICULTIES RESPECTING MEDICAL ATTENDANCE — COURT-MARTIAL ON MR. STOKOE — THEODORE HOOK'S 'FACTS FROM ST. HELENA' — ARRIVAL OF DR. ANTOMMARCHI AND TWO PRIESTS—COUNT BERTRAND'S BEHAVIOUR—O'MEARA'S 'EXPOSITION.'

FROM the 1st to the 4th of July Captain Nicholls continued to see Bonaparte occasionally; but failing to do so on the 5th, he applied the next day to Count Montholon, who told him that Napoleon often walked in the billiard-room after dinner, at which times it was probable he might see him, and that, if he could not do so through the window, *he could see him through the keyhole!* "I told the Count," says Captain Nicholls, "that I certainly should not adopt such a plan, and we parted."

On the 21st the unfortunate orderly officer, who had been constantly baffled in his attempts to perform his duty, reported as follows:—

"Yesterday I was upon my feet at least *ten hours* walking about Longwood garden, but had no opportunity given me of seeing General Bonaparte. I heard persons talking in his billiard-room at about six o'clock in the afternoon. This evening, since seven o'clock, I have been employed in the like manner. . . . . The weather at present is so very bad, that I fear my health will be greatly injured if I am under the necessity of continuing the system of walking round Longwood House and garden in the execution

of my duty as orderly officer, in order to procure a sight of General Bonaparte."

In the afternoon of that day, however, Bonaparte appeared out of doors at five o'clock, accompanied by Count Montholon. "I saw him," says Captain Nicholls, "in the front of Bertrand's house with his hat off, looking at the new building. Napoleon walked firm, and appeared in good health."

On the 25th he made the following report:—

"I am sorry that I have not been able to get a sight of General Bonaparte to-day, and that since eight o'clock this morning I have passed *six* or *seven* hours walking Longwood garden, in order, if possible, to obtain a view of him. At about the middle of the day I met Count Montholon returning from Count Bertrand's, and I mentioned to him that I had not seen General Bonaparte to-day. The Count told me that he had learnt from Bertrand that Napoleon was unwell, and that he was then going to visit him. The Count further added, that it was probable Napoleon would appear out in the course of the afternoon. Count Montholon dined in General Bonaparte's quarters to-day, and I believe that I heard him reading half an hour ago in the General's billiard-room."

On Mr. Stokoe's arrival in England the Admiralty determined to send him back to St. Helena, that he might be tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders in his proceedings at Longwood in the preceding January. This was made known to Sir Hudson Lowe by a letter from Mr. Goulburn, dated the 8th of April, which reached him on the 26th of June. The fact of Mr. Stokoe's being sent back to St. Helena was known long before the cause was made public, and O'Meara was in such complete ignorance on the sub-

ject, that he says in his 'Exposition,'[1] which appeared about that time, "The universal burst of public opinion which has led to Ministers sending Mr. Stokoe back to St. Helena, amply proves that those principles of justice to which Napoleon Bonaparte continues to appeal are not extinct in the British nation, however they may have been deviated from by a few isolated individuals."

Strange as it may seem, the Governor of St. Helena during the whole period of his command there saw almost as little of his prisoner as if the ocean had rolled between them. Indeed, a chance voyager upon the seas was more likely to obtain a sight of Napoleon Bonaparte than Sir Hudson Lowe himself; for his vessel might happen to touch at the island, and it was sometimes possible to procure an invitation to Longwood. But after the last interview in 1816, when he was so grossly insulted, Sir Hudson Lowe never attempted to visit Napoleon; indeed, no man who had a proper sense of self-respect could have done so after being treated with such indignity; and delicacy prevented him from seeking opportunities of seeing Napoleon unobserved, merely to gratify his curiosity. It deserves therefore to be chronicled as an event in the captivity, that on the 4th of August this year the Governor had a sight of Bonaparte, and this was owing to an accident of which he gives the following account in a letter to Earl Bathurst:—

"I had on the 4th instant a most distinct view myself of his person. I had repaired to Longwood to give directions about some alterations he had himself desired in his garden, when I suddenly found myself quite close to him. He had his back turned to me,

[1] P. 189.

and he had a long stick like a wand in his hand, was dressed in his usual uniform, looked as lusty as I had ever seen him, but walked with a gait that bore somewhat the appearance of infirmity. The children of Count Bertrand were with him. The *rencontre* was wholly unexpected on my part."

It is needless to add that not a word of recognition passed between them; Napoleon had observed Sir Hudson approaching, and moved away, or, as Captain Nicholls expresses it, "made play" up a path, before the Governor came to the spot where he was standing.

The whole history of this month may be said to embrace only one subject, and that is the series of vain attempts made by the orderly officer to see Napoleon according to his duty. It is impossible to read the reports of Captain Nicholls without a mingled feeling of the painful and the ludicrous. Every means that tact and delicacy could suggest were employed to get a sight of the captive without success, and the unfortunate officer upon whom the irksome task devolved, and whose difficulties were increased by his total ignorance of the French language, was obliged to hang about the house and knock at doors which he almost always found locked, like a menial or a beggar. It is wonderful that he exhibited so much patience, and the Governor so much forbearance. A more stern and peremptory line of conduct would not only have been justified, but would instantly have brought the French at Longwood to their senses. Napoleon thought that Sir Hudson Lowe would not dare to employ force, and he resolved to throw every obstacle in the way of a peaceable execution of the Governor's instructions. It became a difficult matter to ensure

the transmission to the hands of Napoleon of any letter or document which Sir Hudson Lowe might wish him to read; and on one occasion Captain Nicholls, who had to deliver a packet from the Governor addressed to "Napoleon Bonaparte," tendered it in vain to Montholon, Bertrand, and the valet Marchand successively, who all refused to receive it. The following instructions, given by Colonel Wynyard to Captain Nicholls on the 11th of August, in consequence of their conduct, will best show the state of siege in which Bonaparte chose at this time to place himself:—

"Finding I cannot gain admission into the house by the principal entrance, and knowing the necessity of the letter being either presented to Napoleon Bonaparte or left in the room nearest to him that you may be enabled to reach, I request you (being in fact part of the establishment) will enter the house by the offices, and proceed towards his dressing-room or such room as you have reason to suppose he is in, knocking at every door that may be closed before you open it; and should you find them barred or bolted, or any personal obstacle opposed, merely put the letter down on a table, and, in the latter case, tell the person or persons opposing your progress they are responsible for the delivery of the letter, giving it to them, or, if they will not receive it, putting it down by them."

Count Bertrand told Captain Nicholls that Napoleon would consider any person as an assassin who should enter his private apartments without his consent; and we know from O'Meara that he declared he would shoot the intruder, although he paid the penalty of his own life. These however were big words, and

must not be literally understood. A limit at last came to the patience of the Governor, and he directed Sir Thomas Reade to issue instructions to the orderly officer how he was in future to proceed. After alluding to Bonaparte's conduct in suffering Captain Nicholls to remain "outside his doors, exposed to the inclemency of the weather in the worst season of the year, sometimes for ten hours during the day, to procure an opportunity of seeing him," Sir Thomas Reade said,—

"If therefore it should on any day occur that you do not see him before ten o'clock in the forenoon, you will (unless any extraordinary case should arise to require a different instruction to be conveyed to you) announce to any of the persons who may be in immediate attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte your desire of being admitted to him, and request that such desire may be made known to him.

"You will on such occasion proceed to the hall of his apartments, and wait there a sufficient time to admit the message being delivered, and his reply being received; and if he does not present to you an opportunity of seeing him, or reply in such way as to justify a delay on your part (which can only be in case of indisposition, upon which a rule will be found adverted to in the concluding paragraph of this letter), you will proceed yourself to his inner apartments, knocking at every door before you open it, not opening any door until you find that it is not opened to you, or that you are not desired to enter; and on arriving at the room in which he may himself be, you will, on seeing him, make your salute and retire."

Still the greatest reluctance was felt to do anything offensive to Bonaparte, and the orderly officer endea-

voured to satisfy himself of his presence by stealthy glimpses of his person. In his Journal Captain Nicholls says,—"August 13th: I saw General Bonaparte this morning, quarter to eleven, up to his neck in water in a bath. He had a most ghastly appearance. Marchand, his chief valet, attending him." This feat was accomplished by peeping through an open window at the suggestion of Bertrand.

On the 16th Bertrand wrote to the Governor, enclosing a "declaration" signed by Napoleon, which he requested him to forward to Lord Liverpool, and he begged that if Mr. Stokoe, who was expected at St. Helena, had arrived, he might be sent to Longwood as soon as possible; or that, if the report of his coming out was unfounded, the Governor would authorize some English doctor chosen by the "Emperor" to sign the same conditions as had been accepted by Mr. Stokoe. This, said Bertrand, was the only person who in the present state of health of the *Prince* (dans l'état de santé où se trouve ce Prince) could be admitted to attend him. The paper with Napoleon's signature consisted of a protest against what he called the violation of the privacy of his house by the orderly officer, who had frequently, according to his instructions, entered the rooms he found open for the purpose of ascertaining the presence of Bonaparte, but had invariably been stopped before he effected his object by finding some inner door locked. It also contained a complaint that Napoleon had been deprived of both his medical attendants, and he was left to struggle under the attacks of disease, having had for two years chronic *hepatitis*; and ended by expressing his resolution never to take notice of or receive any despatch or packet which was addressed in a manner contrary to the form that had been for

four years observed, during which all correspondence with him had been carried on through the medium of his officers. If this form was not adhered to, Napoleon said he would throw the packets into the fire or out of the windows.

The Governor replied to this communication by the following note, which was addressed,—

"NOTE FOR THE INFORMATION OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"In addition to the extracts from Earl Bathurst's instructions of 28th September and 30th November, 1818, and 6th October, 1818, transmitted in duplicate on the 11th instant, the Governor has the honour to enclose, for the perusal of Napoleon Bonaparte, duplicates or copies of the further papers which were transmitted for his information with the above extracts on the 21st and 25th March last.

"The Governor has also the honour to enclose copy of his replies to certain propositions made by Count Montholon on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte, in respect to the terms upon which he was disposed to receive the assistance of a British medical attendant; in conformity to which replies, or upon the simple and wholly unobjectionable offer contained in Earl Bathurst's letter of the 16th May, 1818, it rests solely with Napoleon Bonaparte to have recourse to such assistance whilst awaiting the arrival of the medical attendant whose selection has been left to a member of his own family, as announced in a note from the Governor, transmitting the information conveyed to him from Earl Bathurst on the 4th November last.

"The Governor has also the honour to enclose copy of a letter he addressed to Count Montholon on the 4th April last, in reply to a suggestion that the

Governor would address himself to Count Bertrand as a channel of communication to Napoleon Bonaparte.

"In enclosing these papers the Governor feels himself called upon, from the obstacles he so unceasingly experiences in the discharge of his duties, with whatever regard it has been his endeavour to have them executed, to declare that upon all the points which have formed the subject of his communications on the 11th instant, as well as on the present occasion, the determinations he has taken, being in strict conformity to the instructions of his Government, and considered with every attention that circumstances have admitted to the particular situation of Napoleon Bonaparte, and to the conduct of the persons around him, are and must remain unalterable, whilst he is equally resolved not to receive a communication from any person in attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte, on matters that relate to him, wherein it is not most explicitly declared by the person who writes that he addresses the Governor by the orders or directions, and in the name, of Napoleon Bonaparte himself.

"H. Lowe.

"Castle, James Town, August 17, 1819."

At the same time the Governor ordered Dr. Verling to go at once to Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and request them to acquaint Bonaparte that he was at all times ready to afford medical assistance to him if he was disposed to accept it. Montholon, being confined to his room by sickness, requested Dr. Verling to address himself to Bertrand. He accordingly went to the house of the latter, and made a tender of his services. Bertrand replied that Napoleon would not see any physician who did not previously sign the

conditions agreed to by Mr. Stokoe; and was proceeding to explain the nature of those conditions, when Dr. Verling told him that he could not enter into any discussion upon the subject, and requested Count Bertrand to make the message known to Bonaparte.

He saw Bertrand again the same day, who told him that he had informed Bonaparte of the message, and that he was directed to reply that the Emperor was willing to choose a physician whenever the Governor would authorize whoever might be selected to sign the conditions agreed to by Mr. Stokoe, and that he would not see any person who declined signing these conditions. Napoleon was also informed that Dr. Arnott, the principal medical officer on the island, would be ready to attend immediately to any call that might be made upon him for his services; and on the 21st of August Dr. Arnott went to Longwood and saw Count Bertrand, to whom he made the offer of his professional aid to Bonaparte. The Count took a paper out of his pocket, and, having read a series of conditions, asked Dr. Arnott if he was willing to assent to them. Dr. Arnott replied that he would enter into no conditions whatever; that it was a matter of course, if he visited Bonaparte, that he should have the full benefit of his professional abilities, whatever they might be, but that he would enter into no other engagement. The interview then ended.

On Mr. Stokoe's arrival at St. Helena he was immediately put under arrest, and brought before a court-martial, pursuant to the orders of the Admiralty. He was tried upon several charges, which were forwarded in writing by the Lords of the Admiralty and of which the principal were the following:—

1st. That, having on the 17th of January last been ordered by Rear-Admiral Plampin to visit Longwood, for the purpose of affording medical assistance to General Bonaparte, he had communicated with him or his attendants upon subjects not at all connected with medical advice, contrary to standing orders in force for the governance of His Majesty's naval officers at St. Helena.

2nd. That he had, on receiving communications, both in writing and verbally, from some of the French prisoners at Longwood, taken notice of and given an answer to such communications previous to making the same known to the Commander-in-Chief, contrary to the said standing orders.

3rd. That he had signed a paper purporting to be a bulletin of General Bonaparte's health, and delivered the same to the General or his attendants, contrary to the said orders.

4th. That he had in such bulletin stated facts relative to the health of General Bonaparte which did not fall under his own observation, and which, as he afterwards confessed, were dictated or suggested to him by the General or his attendants.

5th. That he had, contrary to his duty, which was to afford medical advice only, communicated to General Bonaparte or his attendants information relative to certain books, letters, and papers said to have been sent from Europe for them, and which had been intercepted by the Governor of St. Helena.

6th. That he had, contrary to his duty and to the character of a British naval officer, communicated to General Bonaparte or his attendants an infamous and calumnious imputation cast upon Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena, by Barry O'Meara, late a surgeon in the Royal Navy implying

that Sir Hudson Lowe had practised with the said O'Meara to induce him to put an end to the existence of General Bonaparte.

7th. That he had in the whole of his conduct in the transactions evinced a disposition to thwart the intentions and regulations of the Governor and the Rear-Admiral, and to further the views of the French prisoners in furnishing them with false or colourable pretences for complaint.

All these charges were found proved, and Mr. Stokoe was sentenced to be dismissed from the Navy, but, in consideration of his very long services, he was recommended by the Court to the favourable consideration of the Lords of the Admiralty, with the view of his being put upon half-pay. One of the members of the Court was Commander Sir William Wiseman, Bart., a son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, and in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, dated the 15th of September this year, Sir Hudson Lowe, alluding to him, said,—"He told me, after the Court Martial was over, he believed there had never a Court Martial assembled where the deliberation had been more full and impartial, or where the members had taken more pains to inform themselves on every point, and to form their judgment without any motives of prejudice. He had been here a very short time before. He expressed his astonishment at the infamous falsehoods, as he termed them, which had been circulated in England respecting the system observed here."

It was no doubt a severe disappointment to Napoleon and the French to be thus deprived of the attendance of Mr. Stokoe, on which they had calculated; and as he still refused to see either Dr. Verling or Dr. Arnott, or afford any facilities to the orderly officer, a note was addressed to him by the Governor,

in which he told him that he was under the painful but unavoidable necessity of making known to him that, pursuant to his instruction from Lord Bathurst, he had granted to the orderly officer such means as it might be found necessary to employ for removing any obstruction opposed to his obtaining daily access to the place where Napoleon Bonaparte might be seen. He was, however, to have recourse to force only when he found that he could not obtain admission without it.

In the early part of the month a pamphlet which had been published in London anonymously, called 'Facts from St. Helena,'[1] came into the hands of the Governor. The author was Theodore Hook, who stopped at St. Helena on his way from the Mauritius, and the *brochure* created some sensation at the time. It was extremely favourable to Sir Hudson Lowe, and attacked O'Meara, who in consequence published his 'Exposition' by way of answer. Writing to Lord Bathurst on the 8th of August, Sir Hudson Lowe thus spoke of Theodore Hook's performance:— "I have not yet seen Count Las Cases' last publication, and it is only two days since I obtained a copy of the 'Facts' illustrative of Napoleon Bonaparte's treatment at St. Helena. I know the author, but not in his capacity as such, nor indeed have I ever had any further acquaintance with him than the casual one which is formed in general with the passengers from the East. I am, however, very sensible of his good intentions, although he appears to have drawn some matters in rather too glowing colours. His information he did not obtain from me, but I believe

[1] 'Facts illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in St. Helena, being the result of minute inquiries and personal research in that island.'

must have got it from some naval friend, which may account for any inaccuracy into which he may have fallen."

Poor Captain Nicholls was not only ignorant of the French language, but seems to have been puzzled about French customs. With amusing *naïveté* he wrote to Major Gorrequer on the 13th of September,—"I have not seen General Bonaparte to-day. At this moment there is a person sitting in the General's billiard-room with a cocked hat on. I however can only see the hat moving about. If the French are accustomed to sit at dinner with their hats on, probably this is Napoleon Bonaparte at his dinner." The Major replied with becoming gravity, "There is in fact no other person of the establishment at Longwood in the habit of wearing a cocked hat, and consequently it is more than probable that you did see him." And so they were obliged on this occasion to content themselves with the inference drawn from the cocked hat; although, perhaps, if the French had known the degree of faith reposed in this signal of Bonaparte's presence, and he had himself wished to make the attempt to escape, it would not have been difficult to use it as a means of deceiving the orderly officer, and by a simple stratagem make him believe that his prisoner was at Longwood, although actually gone.

To the great satisfaction of the Governor, Professor Antommarchi, the surgeon who was chosen by Cardinal Fesch to attend upon Bonaparte, arrived on the 20th of September. The same vessel brought out, as chaplains to the French, the Abbé Buonavita, an elderly priest, who had been for many years a missionary in Mexico, and whose recommendation for this new office was that he had previously been confessor

to Napoleon's mother, and the Abbé Vignali; also Causal the new maître-d'hôtel, and Chaudelin the cook. All these persons had before they left England signed a declaration to the same effect as had been required from Napoleon's other followers. They reached Longwood on the evening of the 20th, and were admitted into Bonaparte's presence the next day.

Madame Bertrand was however the only lady now left to enliven by her presence the society at Longwood, and she naturally felt oppressed by the dulness of the place. The conduct of Napoleon in shutting himself up from all visitors had greatly increased the *ennui* of a residence there, and in a note she wrote about this time to the Governor she complained of the privation she felt, as though it were his fault that they had not more society. Sir Hudson, however, reminded her that he had consented, at Count Bertrand's suggestion, to the proposal that the latter should present a list of fifty persons for the Governor's approval, who might be allowed to visit Longwood without any pass from him upon the invitation of Napoleon. He said that, the list not having been presented, he had proposed to Count Montholon to frame one, but they had not availed themselves of this offer. He added,—"Of the society which most generally meets at Sir Hudson Lowe's own house, there have been never less than twelve persons who have been at liberty to visit at Longwood without any pass from him. This number will now however be augmented, and Sir Hudson Lowe will make known to the persons comprehended in it that there will be no objection to their visits on his part."

Madame Bertrand immediately forwarded a list of names, which she begged the Governor to send to the orderly officer with instructions to allow those persons

to come and visit her without a pass, and Sir Hudson Lowe courteously assented. It is pleasing to be able to state that the Countess seems to have won the good will and regard of all who knew her. She was a very agreeable, and had been a remarkably handsome woman, and her presence at Longwood must have in no slight degree alleviated the tedium and discomfort of the captivity. We wish we could say anything so favourable of her husband, but his influence was invariably exerted for evil, and his behaviour to the Governor was intolerable. In a despatch from Lord Bathurst, brought by the same vessel that conveyed Antommarchi and the priests to St. Helena, he said,—

"The conduct of Count Bertrand makes it unfit that you should any longer address yourself to him in any communications which you may have occasion to make to General Buonaparte; in the event therefore of Count Montholon's departure, you will address yourself to the Abbé Buonavita, or to either of the two other gentlemen who go out with him."

In another despatch, which reached Sir Hudson Lowe at the same time, Lord Bathurst said,—

"I have not thought it advisable to direct any prosecutions against the 'Morning Chronicle,' or Mr. O'Meara's publications; not because I felt any indifference on the subject, but because London juries are very uncertain in their verdicts; and one ill-disposed juryman would be able to acquit the parties, which would give occasion for triumph, and appear to justify the complaints which have been made against you. As it is, you will have had the satisfaction of seeing that, after all their publications and all their threats, not one person has ever opened his mouth in Parliament in favour of Buonaparte.

"You are acting with great prudence in avoiding if possible any scene with Buonaparte; and I trust that the apprehension of the orderly officer coming into his room will induce him to show himself, so as to make a scene unnecessary. You will find I think Abbé Buonavita a very harmless man. The surgeon is reckoned very intelligent, but I think will not be disposed to be troublesome, as he is apparently inclined to make advances to the Government, by preparing to dedicate the work he is completing to the Prince Regent.

"Nothing could have been more fortunate than Mr. Ricketts's visit at St. Helena. He has given the most satisfactory reports concerning the real state of the business, and saw through all the manœuvres which were practised to impose upon him. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Baxter, but I expect to see him in a day or two.

"With respect to Mr. Balcombe you will let it be known that, in the event of his arriving at St. Helena, you have orders to send him away. His partners must not be allowed to continue their contract if his name is in it.

"July 13.

"P.S.—I see by the newspapers that Mr. Hutchinson yesterday said something about Buonaparte in the House of Commons, but it produced no effect, and was not attended to."

In order to introduce and circulate in the island copies of O'Meara's 'Exposition,' which was full of the grossest calumnies against the Governor,[1] the

[1] I should like to quote what Count Montholon said to his wife in a letter respecting this publication of O'Meara, but I cannot satisfy myself that it ought to be made use of. Letters written by a husband to a wife, or by a wife to her husband, in all the confidence of that intimate and

following expedient was adopted by him and his friends. Eighteen sets of the work were put on board a vessel about to sail for St. Helena, in small sealed packets, addressed to officers and inhabitants on the island. The Captain thought they were religious tracts, and sent them on shore without making any manifest as the regulations required, and they were afterwards delivered to the several persons to whom they were addressed. They were not however retained by a single individual, but sent back to the publisher with the leaves uncut.

As a specimen of the veracity of this work we may quote the assertion[1] there made, that the Rev. Mr. Vernon, in February 1817, informed Count and Countess Bertrand, that both himself and his wife would come very often to see them, were it not that *the Governor obliged every person who visited Longwood to undergo a long interrogation prior to granting a pass, and that on their return they were obliged to make a report of everything they had seen or heard.* When Mr. Vernon's attention was called to this paragraph by Major Gorrequer, he wrote the following letter on the 7th of September in answer to it:—

"The note in Mr. O'Meara's publication with which you have favoured me is of a piece with the rest of his assertions. May I beg you to assure the Governor that it is an infamous fabrication?

"No conversation, of such nature as Mr. O'Meara represents, was ever held by me to Count or Countess Bertrand.

affectionate relationship, and not intended to meet the public eye, ought to be held sacred. The passage from one of Count Montholon's letters to the Countess, quoted in a previous page (see p. 168, *ante*), is obviously one which neither could object to being printed.

[1] See p. 109 of the 'Exposition.'

"Madame Bertrand once or twice intimated to me her intention of paying Mrs. Vernon a visit, adding, that, having seen her once at Admiral Malcolm's, she thought her very much like a sister of hers, and was desirous of seeing her again; upon which I remember expressing my regret that Mrs. Vernon was unable to undertake so long a ride.

"To the second question, I must declare that the only 'interrogation previous to my obtaining a pass from Sir Hudson Lowe to visit at Longwood' came *from me to the Governor*, viz. 'Will you be kind enough to give me a pass to visit Count Bertrand?' The invariable answer to which was, 'Certainly, Mr. Vernon.'

"And upon my return from such visits, I can declare that the Governor never asked me any questions; except once or twice, simply, whether I had succeeded in my endeavours to see Bonaparte.

"Once, indeed, at Plantation House, Sir Hudson Lowe asked me what had passed between M. Las Cases and myself at Longwood, in reference to a conversation that had occurred some time before, and which at the express desire of M. Las Cases I had communicated to the Governor."

Sir Hudson Lowe learnt from the foreign Commissioners about this time that the French officers at Longwood had spoken to them of a design to poison Napoleon. When Count Montholon mentioned it to the Marquis de Montchenu, the latter expressed his utter disbelief of such a thing, upon which Count Montholon observed, "*We do not believe it ourselves*, BUT IT IS ALWAYS WELL TO SAY SO."[1]

[1] "Nous ne le croyons pas nous-mêmes, mais c'est toujours bon à dire.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NAPOLEON CEASES TO SECLUDE HIMSELF IN HIS APARTMENTS — HIS FONDNESS FOR GARDENING — DR. ANTOMMARCHI — ENLARGEMENT OF THE LIMITS — INSTRUCTIONS FROM EARL BATHURST — ORDERLY OFFICER'S REPORTS — NAPOLEON TAKES TO GOAT-SHOOTING — PLAYING AT SOLDIERS — BALL PRACTICE.

IN October this year a material change took place in Bonaparte's conduct. Instead of shutting himself up in his apartments, and vexatiously preventing the orderly officer from seeing him, he walked out nearly every day, and found amusement in superintending some alterations in his little garden. From this period a decided improvement appeared in his health and spirits; and his undignified struggle to prevent the Governor from obeying his instructions having ceased, the relations between them assumed a much more agreeable character.

On the 3rd of October Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst, and said that, although there had been no change of importance in the general system upon which he had proceeded from the first moment of his arrival on the island, viz. that of combining the precautions for security with every proper regard and attention to the wants and comforts of the person under his charge, there was now apparently no direct opposition to the exercise of his duty, and that he now received from the Commissioners of the Allied Sovereigns every proof of accord in the maintenance of the principles by which he had always hitherto,

although sometimes so unsuccessfully, endeavoured to conduct his relations towards them, as well as towards Bonaparte himself. And in a private letter to Lord Bathurst, written the same day, Sir Hudson said,—

"In making my official acknowledgments to your Lordship for the high favour conferred on me by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's gracious approbation of my conduct, I have taken occasion to comment upon the *present* favourable appearance of matters in general. I wish to be understood, however, as speaking only *of the present*. It may perhaps behove me to be as much on my guard against the advances that may be eventually made to me as against the attacks and complaints that may be still meditating. I shall endeavour to hold myself equally prepared for either. I have been much gratified to learn that the accounts brought by Mr. Ricketts conveyed so much satisfaction. Had he been enabled to remain here a short time longer, I have little hesitation to say he would have seen matters more clearly. I feel, however, only the more sensible of his obliging attention, and of the pains he took to inform himself with so much accuracy in so very short a stay."

On the 16th he wrote, "General Bonaparte continues to show himself daily, and is now occupied in directing some little improvements in his garden, principally of such nature as to procure shade with retirement, and hide the view of his windows."

Soon after the arrival of Antommarchi, Dr. Verling, who had resided at Longwood more than fourteen months, although never permitted by Napoleon to visit him, applied for leave to return to England, and he received the highest testimonials from Sir Hudson Lowe as to his conduct, especially in the irksome and

painful situation which the proposals of Count Montholon in April, and the refusal of Bonaparte to receive him professionally unless he acquiesced in them, had placed him. His departure was much regretted by Madame Bertrand, who applied to the Governor to authorize or direct him to continue his medical attendance upon her and her family. On being told by Dr. Verling that he was about to quit the island, she expressed much concern, and said she should apply for the attendance of Mr. Henry, assistant surgeon of the 66th regiment, a gentleman of distinguished ability, the author of 'Events of a Military Life,' a work which has been frequently quoted in the course of the narrative.

Dr. Antommarchi applied for permission to attend the hospitals, for the purpose of studying the diseases most prevalent in the island. This was readily granted; and that no restraint might be placed on his communications with the British medical officers, the officer who attended him to the town was directed to leave him while he was thus professionally engaged with any other medical man. However, the restriction of being accompanied from Longwood to the town by an officer, and the circumstance that he and the Abbé Buonavita were once obstructed by a sentry on returning to Longwood from a walk after gun-fire, were made the subject of a personal complaint by Dr. Antommarchi to the Governor on the following day. Sir Hudson Lowe expressed his regret at the circumstance, and promised to have it investigated, but he said he was surprised to find that the French officers had not made him and the priests acquainted with the regulations, and added that he would send them a copy of them. Dr. Antommarchi then begged to be exempted from the attendance of an officer whenever

he went into the town; but this request was refused. As this affair of the sentry was as usual made the subject of exaggerated complaint and misrepresentation, we will give Sir Thomas Reade's report of the inquiry instituted immediately after the occurrence happened. He said,—

"Having examined the sergeant of the guard and the sentries, relative to the complaint made by Mr. Antommarchi, it appears that he and the Abbé Buonavita had been walking on Deadwood, and remained there after it was dark, when upon their return they endeavoured to pass the sentry at the new building, who, agreeably to his orders, stopped them, and desired they would go round by the Longwood guard, as it was contrary to the regulations for any person to enter the grounds of Longwood after dark, unless by the entrance where the guard is stationed. They, however, did not go as far as the guard, as Mr. Antommarchi states, but got over the fence betwixt the new building and the guard-house. The sentry positively denies either charging his bayonet or attempting to load his firelock; he merely told them it was contrary to orders to pass his post after dark. The officer of the guard was posting his sentries on the Fisher's Valley side when the occurrence took place. Major Goldie and some other officers of the 66th observed that it was dark when Mr. Antommarchi and the priest left Deadwood."

In the course of conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe, Dr. Antommarchi mentioned that he had urged Napoleon to take horse-exercise as absolutely necessary to his health, but he objected to it on account, as he said, of an apprehension that he might be interfered with by the guards or sentries, and he therefore

would not expose himself to the risk of being thus interrupted in his rides. The Governor here expressed his conviction that Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or the persons about him, never believed there was any such risk to be apprehended; it was one of the many calumnies that had been directed against him. He then quoted O'Meara's assertion, in his 'Exposition,' that the sentries had orders, in case of Napoleon Bonaparte going beyond the boundaries, to fire at him, which he declared was an infamous falsehood.[1] He said that, if Napoleon Bonaparte was really apprehensive of being interrupted on his return home by the sentries, he had it in his power to relieve himself from this apprehension by acceding to the propositions which had been made to him for not posting them until between 9 and 11 o'clock at night. The Governor then explained the offer made to Bonaparte of the range of the whole island for taking exercise unaccompanied by a British officer (excluding merely such parts as led to the sea, the town, or batteries, &c.), under the simple condition of showing himself at certain hours, and that it rested with him alone to give effect to it as soon as he pleased; by which arrangement also the posting of the sentries around the house, which was now done when it became dark, would be protracted to a later hour, viz. between 9 and 11 o'clock. Sir Hudson Lowe authorized Dr. Antommarchi to state to Napoleon what he had just said, adding that, when Dr. Antommarchi

[1] "Dr. Antommarchi's first letters to England speak of 'gli amici O'Meara e Holmes,' and a letter proceeding by this occasion speaks of the latter, 'il banchiere Holmes,' as his agent in London. Without ascribing any improper intentions at the outset to Mr. Antommarchi it may still be naturally supposed that the above-mentioned friend and agent will have pointed out to him those persons residing in the town who were most in their confidence."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

spoke of difficulties, he ought to consider at the same time on which side they existed, and such as proceeded on the part of Napoleon himself must not be ascribed to him. Dr. Antommarchi evinced surprise at hearing that Bonaparte had it in his own power to extend his limits and defer the posting of the sentries. He said he had not heard anything on this subject before, and he declared that he had no intention of interfering in anything but his professional avocations; he knew nothing of politics, and would never intermeddle with matters of such a nature. He had never taken interest in political affairs; but, as Napoleon had mentioned the cause of his objection to take horse-exercise when he strongly recommended riding as necessary to his health, he conceived it his duty to mention it to the Governor. Having so done, he left it to his consideration, and would say nothing further on that point. The Governor recommended him to continue to urge on Napoleon Bonaparte the necessity of taking exercise, and repeated to him an observation made by O'Meara, viz. that if he would take horse-exercise for a fortnight he would be cured of all his complaints. Antommarchi replied, this might have been the case at the commencement of his complaint; he had himself only begun the treatment of Napoleon as his patient from the 1st of October, not having been sufficiently settled after his arrival to undertake it before; he was, however, aware that the principal object was to prevail upon him to ride and take exercise, and he would recommend it as strongly as he could on all occasions. The Governor, in conclusion, told Dr. Antommarchi that, in the orders given to the several guards and sentries, it was impossible to push personal regard to Napoleon Bonaparte any farther, and that he was absolutely secured

by them from any unpleasant interruption, and so he might assure him.

Towards the end of the month the Governor wrote to Lord Charles Somerset at the Cape, and requested him to send to St. Helena, for the use of the establishment at Longwood, three or four good saddle-horses. "Two of them," he said, "I should wish to be of rather a better description than the others; middle-sized, strong, active, and sure-footed, as also of good appearance, rather than remarkable for either swiftness or blood, which might perhaps enhance the price without rendering them, in this island, either more useful or more acceptable. The two others should also be perfectly good riding-horses." He mentioned that one of them would be required for a lady.

Some extracts from Captain Nicholls's journal for the month of November may be thought interesting, and it is pleasing to find that the vexed spirit of Napoleon soothed itself in the delightful occupation of gardening, of which Lord Bacon has written that "it is the purest of human pleasures, and the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man." Napoleon with his spade in his hand, digging amidst the Chinese servants, or amusing himself with Bertrand's children amongst the flower-beds, might form a companion picture to one which represented Scipio and Lælius gathering shells on the sea-shore, as Cicero, with a kind of half apology for telling so trivial an anecdote of such eminent men, informs us. The ex-Emperor, however, had not at St. Helena the royal ordering or platform of a princely garden of which Bacon speaks, and could not have "statues and such things for state and magnificence;" but, as the great philosopher observes, these "add nothing to the true pleasure of a garden."

In his journal the orderly officer says,—

"November 2nd. General Bonaparte was out to-day in his favourite garden. The young Bertrands were playing round him. 3rd. General Bonaparte appeared out to-day: he then walked very stout. 12th. General Bonaparte amused himself for a considerable time to-day gardening among the Chinese, though the Governor was at the new building at the time. General Bonaparte walked to the gate in the sod wall to look at the new building. 19th. General Bonaparte passed some hours during this day in his favourite garden; at times he had a spade in his hand at work. He desired Sowerby the gardener to go to the officer for two more pickaxes, holding up two of his fingers for the number. He had five or six Chinese at work besides. Count Montholon stripped and hard at work, and some of his valets. The Governor came to Longwood and saw General Bonaparte at work. 20th. General Bonaparte out at work in his little garden by seven o'clock with a spade, and five or six Chinese and valets. The two priests and the surgeon were likewise employed. The General and his three gentlemen assistants afterwards breakfasted together in the garden. Count Montholon is unwell to-day; most probably he caught cold working so hard yesterday. The General was out till late this evening." Bonaparte continued to employ himself in this manner nearly every day, and sometimes visited the Count and Countess Bertrand in the evening. To none was this alteration in Napoleon's pursuits more important than to the orderly officer, who had suffered so much inconvenience hitherto in the execution of his duty, and he emphatically recorded his satisfaction in an entry of the 29th. "General Bonaparte was out early this morning employed in his favourite garden, with a

number of assistants—Count Montholon, valets, Chinese, gardeners, storemen, &c. &c. He is picking holes in one part of the garden, and raising mounds in other parts.

"The General was in his morning-gown amidst the people at work, directing them; takes a spade at times, and begins to put in seeds,—messages to me for carts, shovels, and spades. God send he may always continue in this humour during my residence at Longwood! 30th. This afternoon he stood in Count Montholon's little garden looking at my servants watering some flowers at my door." But

"medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid."

This halcyon state of things was now and then interrupted by a fit of petulance on the part of Bonaparte. One day a tradesman had come to Longwood for the purpose of newly carpeting and papering the dining-room at his request, in order that it might be used for divine worship; but Bonaparte wished the billiard-room to be papered first, and because the man made some difficulty about it, as he had no orders to that effect, and the orderly officer said he would refer to the Governor, Bonaparte gave orders that nothing whatever should be done to his house; and Count Montholon, with his usual candour and honesty, told Captain Nicholls that Napoleon could not get anything done that he wished; on which the Captain remarks in his journal, "I here differed in opinion with him, and positively told him that since I had been at Longwood General Bonaparte's applications had always been attended to, and that everything had been done for him as soon as asked."

To give some idea of the trouble taken in small

matters to satisfy the wishes of the exiles, we will quote the following letter from Major Gorrequer to the orderly officer, dated

"Dear Sir, "Plantation House, Nov. 11, 1819.

"Be pleased to wait on Count Mofitholon, and explain to him that the door was put in hand the moment Napoleon Bonaparte desired to have it done; that this door is a glass one, and takes time to prepare; that it was thought advisable to have all the carpenter's work completed before the wall was broken; that the door, it is believed, is now finished, as also the bookcase required; the garden-tables and the trellis-work for the walk in the garden well advanced: and that all these little works, with the demands of Count Bertrand for alterations also at his house, as well as the employment of the upholsterer and paper-hanger at Longwood, create very sensible interruption in the progress of the new building; the more so, as all the naval carpenters have lately been taken away, being wanted by the Admiral. The Governor desires Count Montholon may be rendered aware of this circumstance, in order that complaints may not hereafter arise; that what is essential for the old building, and all that has been demanded for it, is executing, notwithstanding, as fast as it can possibly be done; but in order not to be exposed to any unbecoming remark from a servant of the establishment, such as what Noverraz made to you this morning, 'that Napoleon Bonaparte would not have his billiard-room papered because it had been so long delayed,' when no application had been made to the Governor for it, and that it is impossible to know what is wanted in the house when no one sees the interior of it, it is requisite that the demand for

repairs, where opportunities are not afforded to see that they are wanted, be made by some officer of the establishment. "I am, &c.

"G. GORREQUER."

On the 27th of November Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst, and said, "The circumstance of General Bonaparte having walked to the new house might lead to the supposition that he intends to occupy it when completed; but in proportion as he sees an evident endeavour to hasten its completion, he seems inclined to make improvements and alterations in his present residence. This desire on his part has proved in several instances extremely inconvenient, because it tends to take the workmen from the new building, of which inconvenience, through Count Montholon, he has been rendered frequently aware. I endeavour, as far as I am able, to meet his desires in such a way as to avoid complaint, without suffering them, however, to interrupt the progress of the principal work."

And again on the 1st of December, "Nothing can exceed the bustle and activity which has been recently displayed by General Bonaparte, in giving directions about his flower-garden, and superintending the workmen employed at it. He is hemming it in all round with as bushy trees and shrubs as he can get transplanted, and with sod walls, so as to screen himself as far as possible from external observation."

Most of the days in December were passed by Napoleon in his garden, superintending the workmen; and on some occasions he dined and took coffee under the trees. His principal employment consisted in transplanting trees, and constructing a reservoir

in one of the gardens. We again avail ourselves of some extracts from the journal of the orderly officer:—"December 3rd. I saw General Bonaparte this morning; he was turning the cock of a cistern to allow the water to run over the flowers in one of his little gardens. 4th. General Bonaparte had his valets, stablemen, Chinese, &c., at work in his favourite garden from five o'clock this morning. The General is filling his little garden with trees, I fancy not only to screen him from the sun, but also from general view. 6th. I saw General Bonaparte this afternoon; he was in full dress, with a star on his side, walking with Count Montholon. At present he does not mind anybody seeing him, provided they do not stand looking at him. He appears completely occupied in gardening and planting; and writing and study seem quite out of the question." . . . . . "23rd. I saw General Bonaparte in his garden. The Governor and his two daughters-in-law[1] came to Longwood this afternoon. The young ladies wished to see General Bonaparte, but he did not seem inclined to give them an opportunity. After they left Longwood he had dinner under the trees in his favourite garden with some of his family between five and six o'clock. He saw the Miss Johnsons. . . . . 26th. I saw General Bonaparte this afternoon in one of his little gardens in his dressing-gown. They are doing nothing but transplanting trees. Even this day, though Sunday, they are moving peach-trees with fruit on them. They have been moving young oaks in full leaf, and the trees probably will survive, but the leaf is falling off as in autumn. . . . . 27th. I saw General Bonaparte this

[1] *i.e.* step-daughters, daughters of Lady Lowe by her former husband.

morning in his little garden. For many months past there has been a sentry placed over the new building when the men were not employed there. This evening General Bonaparte visited Count Bertrand, who is sick, and the sentry stood looking I fancy at the General, for he sent Count Montholon to me to complain that a sentry should be posted so near him during the day, contrary, as Montholon said, to Lord Bathurst's directions." The next day Captain Nicholls went to Plantation House to inform the Governor of this circumstance, and he says—

"The Governor desired me to tell Count Montholon that the sentry in question had been placed there to take care of the tools at the new building, but, as it was disagreeable to Napoleon, he should be discontinued immediately. I acquainted Count Montholon with this message on my return to Longwood."

On the 19th Sir Hudson Lowe writing to Lord Bathurst said,—"General Bonaparte continues to occupy himself with the improvements in his garden. He caused three large reservoirs to be dug in different forms, within a few paces of one another; it being found they did not retain the water, Count Montholon applied to have them lined with lead. It was calculated by Major Emmett of the Engineers this would create an immediate expense of near 300*l.* for an appurtenance merely to the old building. I proposed, therefore, that a stone reservoir should be commenced in the first instance, as such would be always found useful. In the mean time General Bonaparte has himself caused a second one to be constructed of wood, in the form of an immense vat, and he has given up the project of the third. He shows himself a good deal in his garden, and I

have myself lately seen him twice, but not at such near distance as to observe anything further than that he appeared to walk as strong and as well as I had ever seen him."

From the very first Dr. Antommarchi became the slave of Napoleon, and, of course, ready to misinterpret everything to the disadvantage of England. When St. Helena first came in view he tells us that the thought which presented itself to his mind was this—"There was the Emperor; there English cruelty persecuted its victim with relentless fury! There the sovereigns of Europe were taking revenge upon that great man *for the errors of his generosity!*" But Sir Hudson Lowe is the great object of his attack, and he takes every opportunity of calumniating him. His malice, however, constantly defeats itself by giving a colour to incidents which manifestly, without any confutation or explanation, they will not bear. For instance, he tells us that when he and his companions arrived at St. Helena they were extremely impatient to land, "but not so Sir Hudson Lowe. It was necessary to lay a snare for us, and he wanted a few hours to meditate how to do it." And what does the reader suppose is the proof which Antommarchi adduces of this meditated snare? He says that several boats came and rowed about the ship, but he was not deceived by the stratagem. What stratagem? We shall see. "'What do these boats want?' said I to the Captain. 'They are fishing-boats.' 'Probably the men have fish; ask them to sell us some.' He asked them, but they had not yet cast their nets. My question had disconcerted them, and they went away."[1] It certainly required some ingenuity to suspect a plot

[1] Memoirs of Napoleon's Exile, vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

in this, but Antommarchi means that the boats were sent to entrap the newly-arrived strangers into sending some letter or paper clandestinely ashore, and thus putting themselves in the power of the Governor. This is at the beginning of his book; and after a tissue of misrepresentation throughout, it consistently concludes with positive falsehood. He pretends that when he arrived in London after the death of Napoleon he was sent for by the Ministry, or as he calls it, the Council, and that the following colloquy took place: "'What signifies after all the death of General Bonaparte? It rids us of an implacable enemy, and delivers him from a painful situation in which he would have remained for ever.' 'The assurances given to us by the Governor,' answered I, 'were not of that nature.' 'The Governor! the Governor!' 'Your Excellency does not do him justice: he was a strict follower of his instructions.' 'If so, why did he not cause the body of Bonaparte to be thrown into lime? the idol would then have been completely destroyed, and we should have the sooner done with him.'" These specimens enable us to judge of the value of statements made by such a writer in disparagement of others.[1]

He soon became an apt pupil in the art of grumbling. He disregarded the regulations, and, when stopped by the sentries on duty bitterly complained. One evening, on the 21st of December, he remained in the wood near Longwood until some time after it

[1] The vanity of Antommarchi is extremely ludicrous. He actually insinuates that when he was in London, on his way to St. Helena, he was assailed with offers and threats to induce him to abandon his intention, in order that England might have the benefit of the services of so great an anatomist. But he modestly adds, "England abounds in first-rate practitioners, and I could not, therefore, suppose that there really existed any intention to secure my presence and my services."—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 39.

was dark, and then attempted to pass the sentry, who refused to allow him until reference was made to the orderly officer. The Doctor made this the subject of a long letter of remonstrance to the Governor the next day, and he also mentioned another affront. He had invited the English medical officers to dine with him, and they had declined to come. Dr. Arnott pleaded a prior engagement; Mr. Livingstone was unwell and could not go; Dr. Verling and Mr. Henry also sent excuses. Whatever may have been their reasons, the Governor had nothing to do with it, as he did not interfere at all. Dr. Antommarchi, however, in his letter attributed their refusal to the "universal terror impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of the island;" and in his reply Sir Hudson Lowe said, after explaining the conduct of the sentry, "In regard to your remark as to the difference between the private and public reception you have met from the gentlemen of your own profession on this island, these gentlemen alone can explain the cause of such difference, if they are themselves conscious of it; but even should they have appeared to fail in any act of expected attention towards you, this cannot justify your making a most unprovoked and indecorous attack upon me, such as is conveyed by the following reflection,—'presi forse ancor loro dall' universal terrore impresso nell' animo degli abitanti di quest' isola;' a reflection obtruded under the most false and misguided impressions, and only affording an instance, which I have had real regret to observe, of your readiness to seek the first forced occasion that could be availed of to hold an irritating and insulting style of language to me. You can, Sir, have had no opportunity to trace the real causes which influence the conduct of individuals on this island in their relations with Long-

wood, and without such knowledge the reflection is as unjust as it is offensive. By the regulations communicated to you through the Abbé Buonavita, you were informed that no letters containing the imperial title could be received by me. In your present letter there has been an unnecessary, and as it appears to me, from the particular subject of the passage where the title appears, a purposed disregard of this rule; I cannot in future receive any letter from you where this title is employed."

The Governor now determined, upon his own responsibility, to make an addition to the limits of the space hitherto allowed to the French at Longwood for taking exercise, either on horseback or on foot, unaccompanied by a British officer, nor liable to interruption by any sentry; and he specified the new boundaries in the following memorandum, enclosed in a letter to Count Montholon on the 31st of December:—

"The limits to the westward of the Alarm-house and Hutt's Gate will be bounded in future during the day as follows:—

"From the Alarm-house by the road over Peak Hill and Francis Plain to Red Hill, from thence by Merriman's Hill and Church Ground to Bates's Branch, over Sandy Bay Ridge, and returning by the road across Stick's Ridge to Hutt's Gate.

"The limits will be closed at the same time in the evening as heretofore; should any person, however, accidentally not have returned before the sentries are posted, the entrance will remain open near Longwood New House, as well as by the Lodge, to pass in uninterrupted, so long as any twilight prevails."

The year 1820 commenced very tranquilly at Long-

wood. Napoleon continued to amuse himself in his gardens, where he sometimes spent the whole day busily employed in planting and making improvements. It will be seen that he defended his little territory against invasion by animals with as much resolution and energy as he displayed in his campaigns when at the head of countless armies. The journal of Captain Nicholls supplies us with many interesting notices of the discrowned Emperor in his new occupation of nurseryman and gardener.

"January 1st. Sowerby saw General Bonaparte in his favourite garden to-day. He was also out in the evening till gun-fire (nine o'clock) looking at the boys and others firing crackers." The next day he was "amusing himself with the pipe of the fire-engine, spouting water on the trees and flowers in his favourite garden." .... "4th. I saw General Bonaparte several times to-day walking about the large garden; he still amuses himself by gardening, that is superintending; however, he at times takes a watering-pot in his hands," &c. On the 5th he dined under the trees with Count Montholon. On the 9th he was "busily employed amidst his valets gardening; he had on his head a large straw hat; he did not seem to mind a little rain which was falling."

On the 10th the orderly officer reported,—

"I saw General Bonaparte this morning; he was amusing himself in one of his favourite gardens; his morning dress at present consists of a white gown and straw hat with a long broad brim; in the afternoon he appears out in a cocked hat, green coat, and white breeches and stockings: he walks a good deal most afternoons in Longwood garden, accompanied by either Count Montholon or Bertrand, and often pays a visit

to the Bertrands in the evenings." "12th. This day the one-eyed cooper came up from James Town with a large tub (twelve feet wide) for General Bonaparte's favourite garden, to serve as a reservoir. The cooper told me that the General was very much pleased with the tub, and gave him a glass of wine in consequence with his own hand. The old cooper seemed highly delighted." "18th. I saw General Bonaparte in his little garden this morning. Counts Bertrand and Montholon busily employed measuring out more ground for the extension of the garden for the General. The General was out a good deal to-day. The day uncommonly fine." On the 19th Bonaparte was employed "superintending the building of a sod-wall; he had Count Montholon and all his valets hard at work. The young Bertrands carrying water to wet the sods as they were laid. The General's appearance was rather grotesque this morning; however, he appeared highly amused."

But the *menus plaisirs* of the ex-Emperor were not always quite so harmless. On the evening of the 20th a goat and two kids belonging to the Countess Bertrand happened to stray into his garden and make free with his flowers, on which he took his fowling-piece and shot one of the animals on the spot. The Countess, fearing that a like catastrophe might happen to her other two pets, gave them away to Mrs. Kingsmill, the wife of an officer of the 66th regiment; and this no doubt saved their lives, for Napoleon was determined to guard his domain against all intruders. A few days afterwards he shot three hens, and next day a kid belonging to his groom, which he caught trespassing. This kind of sport seemed to afford him amusement, and he sent one of his

servants to Sandy Bay to buy some young goats for him to shoot.

Another favourite occupation of Napoleon was one more in unison with his former habits. He wrote or dictated a quantity of papers on the subject of defensive operations by field-works, and the depth of formations of troops. The French formed their line three deep, but, as the rear rank could not fire over the two others in its front, he preferred the English method of forming two deep only, so long as effect could not be given to the fire of the third rank. Count Bertrand mentioned, shortly after his death, that this question had occupied his mind with a particular degree of earnestness, and that he would get up as often as seven times in the middle of the night to write notes upon it. He frequently sent "billets" to Bertrand on the subject even at night. He used to trace out all his plans and field-works on the ground of his little garden, with his officers and attendants around him, to whom he pointed out his ideas. He described the mode in which he would give effect to the fire of a line drawn up in ranks even ten deep, by placing the rows of men on inclined positions, or drawing them up with the men of lowest stature in the front rank and the tallest in the rear. With these ranks, eight or ten deep, he thought himself perfectly unassailable, and he would hear of no objection to his plan. He proposed that in those places where the ground did not offer a slope the men should be made to dig away some of the earth where they were to stand, so as to form steps which would give sufficient elevation to the rear ranks to enable them to fire over those in front, and this he said he would have done in a minute. When Bertrand asked for another minute, he replied, "No! in war half a minute is too much to

lose; you would have the cavalry upon you, and be cut in pieces." To prove the practicability of such depths of formation, he sometimes called out, "Come here, Noverraz; you are the tallest; place yourself there: and you others come here." Having arranged them according to size on a declivity, he stood behind, saying, "I who am the smallest will be in the last rank." "He then," said Bertrand, "levelled a stick and took aim over our heads, exclaiming in triumph, 'Eh bien! don't you see that I fired over the head of Noverraz?'"

Count Montholon rode round the new limits on the 3rd of January, accompanied by Major Gorrequer and Captain Nicholls. "We were both there," says the latter in his journal, "two hours and a half; I should think the distance was about *thirteen* miles." During the ride Major Gorrequer asked Montholon whether the establishment at Longwood was well provided in respect of supplies, and whether the articles were of good quality, and if Mr. Ibbetson gave them satisfaction on these points. He answered, they were perfectly well provided with everything; that it was impossible Mr. Ibbetson could be more attentive, or acquit himself better than he did; if there ever was anything to find fault with, it was unavoidable, and merely in trifles not worth mentioning; everything was of the best quality, "and we can only congratulate ourselves," he said, "at the manner in which we are served."

Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and two of his daughters, arrived at St. Helena on the 25th, and, as he was desirous of calling on Bonaparte, Sir Hudson Lowe sent Major Gorrequer to inform Count Montholon of his wish. The Count delivered the message, but Napoleon did not vouchsafe an answer.

Next day Lord Charles Somerset and his daughters, accompanied by Sir Hudson Lowe, proceeded to Longwood to see the new buildings and grounds. At that moment, says Captain Nicholls, "Bonaparte was at dinner in his garden under the oak-trees with Count Montholon. The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, and the young ladies, passed round the garden in the wood: however, as soon as they were perceived from the house, the General rose from his dinner and ran into the house. The dinner was carried after him into the house. Lord Charles did not know that General Bonaparte was out, having only walked round the large garden, and did not intrude near to the house out of delicacy to General Bonaparte. After Lord Charles's party had left Longwood, General Bonaparte immediately walked out."

On the 27th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst:—"A newspaper had mentioned the death of one of Count Montholon's children. I enclosed the paper with a short note to the Abbé Buonavita, whom I thought the properest person to break the information to Count Montholon. The Abbé's reply is the most civilly expressed thing I had ever received from Longwood. I had followed the same course once before in enclosing to Count Bertrand a letter which mentioned the death of the Countess's mother; and because, nearly *a year* afterwards, the Countess received a letter brought by a person who came out as governess to her children, speaking of the death of her mother as a long-past event, I am, under the head of 'Brutal conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe to the Countess Bertrand,'[1] accused of little else than a design upon her life, in having suffered the letter to reach her."

[1] O'Meara's 'Exposition,' pp. 152, 153.

On the 1st of February Captain Nicholls says,—"I saw General Bonaparte to-day often at his favourite amusement, viz. gardening. He was himself employed placing sods on a bank. In short, his sole amusement, at present, seems to be building sod walls, making reservoirs to hold water, &c., and pulling down to-day that which he had reared the day before." He shot three fowls on the 6th for trespassing, two of which belonged to his valet Noverraz; and this so offended his faithful follower that he wished to leave his service, but was dissuaded by the Governor. On the 9th Captain Nicholls, at his own request, was superseded as orderly officer by Captain Lutyens of the 20th regiment, whose daily reports supply the loss of Captain Nicholls's interesting Journal.[1]

Captain Lutyens was very graciously received by all the inmates of Longwood, except Bonaparte, who took no notice of his arrival. He reported on the 12th that Napoleon "was out early this morning, and shot a rabbit he had let out on purpose for his amusement. I have sent a plumber to the General; he is going to have a leaden tank in the garden on the right of the house." In the morning of the 14th Bonaparte killed another goat at two shots. At six in the morning of the 16th Bonaparte and Count Montholon were hard at work, the ex-Emperor lifting sods, and the Count fixing them with a mallet.

It seems that the ball-practice of Napoleon caused some uneasiness in the minds of both the Governor and the Marquis de Montchenu, and on the 12th of February, when the Marquis called on the Governor to congratulate him on the birth of a son,

[1] Captain Nicholls went to England on leave of absence, and bore with him a well-merited testimonial from the Governor "for the honourable manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of orderly officer at Longwood."

the conversation turned on the subject of Bonaparte's new amusement. Sir Hudson Lowe said that firing with ball appeared to him a thing "très inconvenable" for a person in Bonaparte's situation. The Marquis assented, and said he had no doubt the Governor must have been struck with it, but that, if any accident should occur, and a man were shot instead of a goat, he could do nothing with him, only perhaps confine him more closely. "Il est le prisonnier de l'Europe; il sait cela, et que vous ne feriez rien avec lui, sans instruction, à cet égard." Sir Hudson replied, "I do not like to anticipate cases which have not occurred. I believe he will take good care not to place himself in such a predicament."

It would be a curious subject of speculation to consider what might have been the consequences if Bonaparte in firing carelessly had killed a person under circumstances which would amount to manslaughter according to the English law. Could he have been tried for the offence? and, if found guilty, what would have been the punishment? The question was actually submitted to the law officers of the Crown in England, as Mr. Goulburn wrote and informed Sir Hudson Lowe, but a copy of their opinion has not been found amongst the papers to which the author has had access. Happily, however, no such fatality occurred, and a few goats and poultry with the rabbit before mentioned, and a bullock as will be noticed hereafter, were the only victims of Napoleon's gun.

The following are extracts from Captain Lutyens' reports:— "17th. At seven o'clock this morning I saw General Bonaparte walking in his garden for some time, in conversation with Count Bertrand. The Count kept his hat in his hand the whole time. This form I never observed between Count Montholon and

the General. Yesterday they planted a row of peach-trees in a line with the green rails, facing towards the officers' guard."

"20th. In passing the lawn opposite the billiard-room, I observed a small pen, in which was confined a few goats and three sheep; the pen was so small that I immediately collected what could be spared of the invisible fence, sufficient to go twice across the lawn, and had it conveyed to the place where it was wanted. They saw what I was doing. I had not left it half an hour before they came out, and fixed the enclosure as they wished. During the night one of the goats got out into the garden, in consequence of which the poor animal became a victim, for at seven o'clock this morning General Bonaparte shot it on the lawn with a double-barrelled gun: he after this fired five times at a bottle. There was no one with the General but the servants."

"25th. I saw General Bonaparte at seven o'clock this morning in the garden which his bed-room opens into; he was playing with a little girl of the name of Snell; the child is staying a few days with Gentilini."

On the 26th Count Montholon told Captain Lutyens "in confidence," that Bonaparte was much displeased when he first saw the new path: "not but the path was exactly what the General intended to have made; but he conceived the gardener a servant of his own, and that no interference was to be made with any little arrangement he was making in the gardens. Count Montholon said, if there was, the General was of so violent a disposition that he in all probability would knock down all the railing, and leave the ground open, and again retire to his house. At present the General found a great fund of amusement in his gardens. Count Montholon further said that now

everything went on very well, and that he thought the General would soon appear more than he had ever yet done."[1]

On the same day two saddles, made by one of the first makers in London, were sent back from Longwood as not being sufficiently good, the stirrup-irons not being plated, and the flaps not ornamented. They were intended for Bertrand, but Archambaud, the groom, said they were not fit for the Marshal to ride on. The Governor directed the orderly officer to make it known that, if any saddles of a peculiar description were wanted for Napoleon Bonaparte's own use, and he would be pleased to cause the pattern to be described, they would be immediately written for.

[1] Captain Lutyens' report.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OFFENCE TAKEN BY NAPOLEON AT THE IRON RAILING OF THE NEW HOUSE — RECAL OF THE RUSSIAN COMMISSIONER — A BULLOCK SHOT BY BONAPARTE—NEWS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE DUC DE BERRI — ITS RECEPTION AT LONGWOOD — CONVERSATION BETWEEN COUNT MONTHOLON AND THE FRENCH COMMISSIONER — NAPOLEON'S OPINION OF EVENTS IN FRANCE — HE COMMENCES HORSE EXERCISE — SECRET CORRESPONDENCE WITH ENGLAND — COUNT MONTHOLON'S REMARKS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ESCAPE — ABBÉ VIGNALI PERSONATING NAPOLEON.

ON the 10th of March Napoleon, whose fondness for warm baths has been frequently mentioned, varied his usual custom, and took a healthy plunge in the cold water of the stone reservoir in the garden. Count Montholon was with him, and two servants assisted him in dressing. On the 26th Captain Lutyens says,— "I mentioned to Count Montholon what Countess Bertrand had said to me on the subject of the barracks being removed out of sight of the new building. He said she had told him that she had spoken to me about the removal, and that he was confident it was not the wish of General Bonaparte that the barracks should be removed out of sight; on the contrary, the General felt amusement in constantly looking to the barracks with his glass. Although the General did not like a sentry exactly at his door, to remind him that he was a prisoner, he felt pleasure in looking to [at] a barrack or camp of brave soldiers. . . . . I remarked that I believed General Bonaparte had

never been in the new house. He said, No, but the General knew very well what it was, from having looked in from the outside, and he thought it a very nice house; the only thing the General disapproved of was the iron rails, which formed a perfect iron cage, and he always said, and says, he will not inhabit the house until they are done away with (except by force): that, if the railing is put up for the security of his person, they (*i. e.* the rails) disgust him; if for ornament, it does not accord with his taste; and if there is occasion for a fence, a wooden rail would answer. That General Bonaparte would have frequently visited the house, and given some directions, had it not been for the iron rails. General Bonaparte would be very happy to occupy the new house, which appeared to him so comfortable, for his present residence was very miserable and in very bad repair, was it not for the iron rails."

The railing which was so much complained of was of the same simple kind that is put up before houses in England, and it had been placed at such a distance in front of the new house as to form a semicircle of about four hundred yards, under a terrace before the building, so as not to be seen from it. However, as soon as Sir Hudson Lowe heard of Napoleon's dislike to it, he directed the orderly officer to acquaint Count Montholon that he would not continue the railing any further round the house, but that Bonaparte's objections to what had already been done should have been made known to him earlier. In mentioning the circumstance in a letter to Lord Bathurst the Governor said,—"There is no species of enclosure that ought so completely to answer General Bonaparte's own convenience, from the triple advantage of not obstructing his view, having the sentries removed at a distance

from the house, and keeping his terrace and garden effectually free from trespass by cattle."

Some despatches arrived from England in the course of this month, and in one of them was announced the recal of Count Balmain, on the grounds that the period of three years had expired during which the Emperor of Russia intended him to remain, and that he had himself solicited permission to return to Europe. Before, however, he left St. Helena, he married Miss Johnson, Lady Lowe's eldest daughter by her former husband. Dining one day about this time with the Governor at Plantation House, he said that Count Montholon had told him that a great improvement had taken place in Bonaparte's health, but he had been obliged to have recourse to medicine at intervals. Count Balmain's departure left the Marquis de Montchenu the sole representative of the Allied Powers of the Continent at St. Helena; or, to use the lively expression of the Count on taking leave of him, "Vous voilà resté veuf, Monsieur le Marquis!"

Count Balmain said that Montholon told him they had no reason to complain of anything at present; they were much gratified with the extension given to their limits for riding, but Napoleon and the whole of them felt a great deal of *ennui* in their solitude. Count Balmain also mentioned that he asked Madame Bertrand why she had not called on Lady Lowe, when she replied that her situation was so very peculiar—"You know," she said, "that no English officer speaks to my husband." For Count Bertrand himself we have no pity. His conduct had been uniformly discourteous and offensive, and he deserved this state of isolation; but it is impossible not to feel sympathy for the lively and agreeable Countess, who must have spent many a weary day at Longwood,

with recollection busy retracing the scenes of her former life, and contrasting the solitude of Longwood, rarely interrupted by the arrival of a chance visitor, with the brilliant company that thronged her salons in Paris.

Under the date of the 5th of April, Captain Lutyens mentions an anecdote which shows how promptly Napoleon punished any insubordination in his household:—"The four Chinese who have constantly been employed in the garden got sulky at the General having given a bottle of wine to each of the Chinese that are employed in the house, who worked at the sod wall, and did not give them the same indulgence; they therefore refused doing what the General wanted them to do, which put him in a great rage, and he ordered them off instantly." He adds,—"General Bonaparte is hard at work this morning in the same garden; he has cut a large hole like an embrasure in the sod wall, facing my side-window, in which they are now fixing a large tub half up the wall, to form a sort of cascade into the long tank in the garden."

The necessity for some kind of enclosure round the new building, not for "caging" Napoleon, but for keeping off cattle and other animals, was soon made apparent, for on the 16th, as he was walking in one of the gardens with Montholon, he discovered two bullocks belonging to the adjoining farm in the outer garden, and immediately ordered his two fowling-pieces to be brought out loaded with ball, both of which he fired, and killed one of the oxen, the ball passing through its neck. Count Montholon told the orderly officer that the Emperor was determined to adopt the same plan if he again saw cattle in the garden. Captain Lutyens replied that it was very dangerous to fire with ball there, and that Bonaparte

might have killed one of the sentries; upon which the Count said that the Emperor took the precaution of going round and firing towards the house.

On the 21st of April the news arrived at St. Helena of the death of King George III., and Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the Abbé Buonavita, requesting him to make known the intelligence to Napoleon. The Abbé acknowledged the communication in a most courteous letter, in which he lauded the deceased monarch to the skies, for his piety, his fidelity to his oaths, and his magnanimous protection of the liberty and safety of his subjects.

On the 9th of May the orderly officer reported that Bonaparte had got "a large bell, which he rings; immediately upon this signal all the servants turn out to work in the gardens." On the 19th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst and mentioned the particulars of a conversation he had lately had with the Marquis de Montchenu. Captain de Gors, the aide-de-camp of the latter, had dined with the Governor, and the Marquis said,—

"He will have told you of the deep affliction into which General Bonaparte had been thrown on hearing of the assassination of the Duc de Berri, that he had shut himself up in his apartment for twenty-four hours, giving way to his grief, repeatedly crying out, Oh! pauvre France!"

In his letter to Lord Bathurst Sir Hudson Lowe said,—

"I told the Marquis de Montchenu these demonstrations did not accord with what I myself had an occasion to know of his proceeding on the day he received this information. I had sent him a series of newspapers, the most full of important information

that had come to this island since my arrival here, for the months of January and February of this year. He remained within doors for the greater part of the day after receiving them, which was necessary to afford him time to have them read or translated to him; but he had walked out in his garden as usual in the afternoon, and consequently had not confined himself through grief to his apartments for twenty-four hours, as Count Montholon had stated.

"The Marquis immediately said, 'I had a much stronger proof than what you say of the real effect which the news produced. Count Montholon was accompanied during his visit by Napoleon Bertrand' (the eldest son of Count Bertrand, a boy of eleven years of age). 'I had asked Count Montholon and him to partake of a *déjeûner*. We had been sitting for some time, when, the boy appearing impatient and tired, I said to him, "Come, my little man, you are weary here; you had better go and run about, but don't go into the street—take care of that; you can go about the house as much as you like; there is my French servant, who will show it you." The little boy,' the Marquis continued, 'remained away for some time, and when he came back Count Montholon and himself had left the dining-parlour, and were in the sitting-room.' Young Napoleon Bertrand, looking up to the portrait of Louis XVIII., said, 'Qui est ce gros pouf?' 'C'est le Roi,' the Marquis replied. 'Ah! c'est un grand coquin,' answered immediately Napoleon Bertrand. 'Et qui est cet autre?' 'C'est le Duc de Berri,' said the Marquis. 'Ah! il est tué; *c'est un grand gueux de moins.*'"[1]

[1] Count Montholon said it was the decided opinion of Bonaparte that the assassination of the Duc de Berri was not simply the act of an individual inspired by personal malice or revenge, but that he had been the instrument of a party.

Captain de Gors had repeated to the Governor some observations made by Count Montholon respecting the Memoirs of Napoleon edited by O'Meara, the ninth book of which had recently arrived at St. Helena; and Sir Hudson Lowe continued,—

"He (the Marquis) said that Count Montholon, in speaking of the book, exclaimed, 'But what is it that that rascal, that beggar (ce coquin, ce gueux) has done? —to publish a preface as if he had acted by the orders of the Emperor, and compromise him and so many other persons. If he had wanted money we would have given him a thousand louis (on lui aurait donné mille louis). It spoils the whole book to publish extracts in that manner. The glory of the Emperor Napoleon is limited to the history of the year 1815, and, besides, the work is not by him. It is I who have the original in my hands, dictated by himself, and signed by me at every page. I do not say, however, that that which is printed is not true—nine parts of it are absolutely so, and perhaps the tenth. If you doubt it I can send you the original. If we had published it we would not have inserted the names of persons to compromise them.'

"I told the Marquis there could be no doubt of the work being the dictature of General Bonaparte, for that the publisher had offered to show the original manuscript to any person who would call to see it; and had even said that Ministers might assure themselves of its being original by comparing it with the letter addressed to Lord Liverpool; that it was probably in the handwriting of St. Denis, one of General Bonaparte's principal domestics, and his amanuensis; that the address of the letter to Lord Liverpool, to the best of my recollection, had been in his handwriting (all the papers I have received signed 'Napo-

leon' have been in the handwriting of St. Denis). It was evident, however, from Count Montholon's method of speaking to the Marquis, it was not his intention to disavow the work, but merely to affect disapproval of the manner of its publication; so there can be little doubt that General Bonaparte had authorized its publication, and also he may have approved all except the preface and the notes of the editor."

Sir Hudson Lowe then told Lord Bathurst that he mentioned to the Marquis de Montchenu the constant attempts made by Bertrand and Montholon to infringe the regulations by sending packets clandestinely to Europe, and thus continued,—

"'Oh,' said the Marquis, 'they are prisoners, and of course will endeavour to evade your regulations; it is your business to prevent them. You cannot hinder them from intriguing.'

"'They all signed a declaration,' I answered, 'to subject themselves to the regulations in force on the island, during their residence upon it; this is the condition upon which they were allowed to remain here, and consequently what has been said would justify me in turning them off the island.'

"'What good would that do?' said the Marquis, 'it is precisely what the Count and Countess Bertrand have desired.'

"The Marquis did not appear to be struck with the impropriety of allowing Count Montholon to hold such conversation with him; but as he was then repeating what the Count had said, I did not further interrupt him. He went on, that Count Montholon expected to be left a million of pounds sterling by General Bonaparte. On my expressing surprise at his expecting so enormous a sum, the Marquis informed me that

General Bonaparte possessed, in different banks in Europe, two hundred millions of pounds sterling.

"This communication led to a long conversation as to the way in which he could have acquired so enormous a sum.

"I expressed my disbelief of his possessing it; that the Marquis must certainly mean livres, and not pounds sterling. He said, No, that Count Montholon had told him, not at this visit, but on a former occasion, that General Bonaparte was worth two hundred millions of pounds sterling, sufficient to produce ten millions pounds sterling 'de rente.' I said again, the thing appeared to me impossible: that the civil list of the King of England was only a million of pounds sterling; that what Bonaparte himself enjoyed when at the head of the French Government did not much exceed that sum. The Marquis still contested the point of his immense riches, and produced the following arguments in proof of what he said."

It is unnecessary to repeat these arguments, for nobody can believe that Montholon spoke seriously if he asserted that Bonaparte was in possession of such an immense sum. He no doubt wished to give the Marquis de Montchenu an exaggerated idea of the vast resources of the ex-Emperor. But it turned out that the Marquis was mistaken in the amount which Montholon said he expected as a legacy from his master, for he met the Governor in the street a day or two afterwards, and told him that instead of a million pounds he ought to have said one hundred thousand pounds sterling. And most probably a similar kind of mistake was made by him when repeating what Montholon said respecting Napoleon's wealth.

Sir Hudson Lowe proceeded in his letter to say,—

"The circumstances most in confirmation of what the Marquis has said are the offer made by Count Montholon to Dr. Verling of a draft of 12,000*l.* on the house of Baring, and the offer also of one for 600*l.* to Captain Ripley of the Regent East-Indiaman, upon the house of Sir John Lubbock, by a person whom he could not name, if he would take charge of a letter.[1]

Count Montholon spoke a good deal to the Marquis about the Duke of Orleans, and said, General Bonaparte had observed, the principal contest after the death of the King would be between the Duke of Orleans and his son; that the King himself might not live to see the overthrow of his house, but he would say to himself, "C'est l'affaire de mes successeurs; je puis résister moi-même, mais eux ils seront écrasés."

This prophecy has been fully verified by the event.

The Governor then mentioned that Count Montholon spoke to the Marquis of the success they had had in raising vegetables, and pressed him to accept a few "des haricots verts," or "des haricots blancs;" to which the Marquis answered that he might send him a little of both.

Sir Hudson Lowe adds,—"Whether the 'haricots blancs' and 'haricots verts' bear any reference to the 'drapeau blanc' of the Bourbons, and the 'habit vert' of General Bonaparte himself, and the livery of his servants at Longwood, I am unable to say; but the Marquis de Montchenu, it appears to me, would have acted with more propriety if he had declined receiving either, or limited himself to a demand for the white alone. He is not aware how much the question that was put by Count Montholon

[1] See p. 165, *ante*.

to Count Balmain may be made to apply to his proceeding on this occasion."[1]

In another letter to Lord Bathurst, dated the 22nd of May this year, Sir Hudson Lowe said that, speaking of Count Montholon in conversation with the Marquis de Montchenu, he told the latter that "it was impossible for a person to express himself more clearly, or to explain himself with more correctness, than Count Montholon did when he thought it necessary to do so; but if he wished to insinuate anything —to drop any remark—to state any doubtful circumstance upon which he was desirous to evade reply, his pronunciation became rapid, indistinct, and he spoke in so muttering a tone, that it became difficult to catch his meaning, or to follow exactly what he said; it was more than probable, however, he would proceed afterwards to his own apartment, write down all he had said, "et rédiger une espèce de procès verbal," and perhaps refer to it in a year or two afterwards as an official communication; that I thought it right to guard against anything of this nature, with respect to myself, by always having a second person present, but I had reason to believe he had frequently spoken in this way to the orderly officer at Longwood, who very likely, while he was thus discoursing, may not have been able to under-

[1] What this question was I am unable to say. It certainly does seem ludicrous to suppose that there could have been any concealed motive in the offer of a few bean-stalks, whether white or green; and it may be thought that it would have been caricaturing caution to have declined, on political grounds, Count Montholon's polite offer. But Sir Hudson Lowe thought the matter of some importance, and again alluded to it in another letter to Lord Bathurst. It appears that Montholon and the Marquis had some conversation about the fidelity of parties to their colours—"blancs" or "verts;" and the offer of "des haricots *verts*" or "des haricots *blancs*" following immediately upon this, *was* a little suspicious. The classical reader will be reminded of the oracular warning of Pythagoras, κυαμῶν ἀπέχεσθε, "abstain from beans!"

stand what he said, or attached any consequence to it."

He added some further particulars of conversation between Montholon and the Marquis, which the latter repeated to him. "General Bonaparte had said, 'It is a great misfortune for France that my son lives, because he has great rights.' He deprecated exceedingly the return of all the proscribed persons to France, particularly such as had been members of the Convention, and were known for their republican principles; he considered they were all likely to be hostile to him; he was much vexed that their return had been permitted; they were all Jacobins, and as such would be constantly opposed to the present system of government. He had been not sorry to see some of his old generals in high employment, 'mais, à présent que le Jacobin ministre (le Comte de Cazes) est déchu, il faut qu'ils sortent aussi.' General Bonaparte added, 'When they are out of place they will lose their influence, for it is the circumstance alone of their being employed which gives them consequence.' He had also spoken with great indignation of the regulations at present existing in France with respect to the advancement of officers, and particularly of that which prevents officers from holding the rank of colonel until they have attained their fortieth year; it was a shameful thing to attempt to restrict the King in the selection of his own officers, it was an act of 'lèse-Majesté' on the part of the minister who had dared to make the proposition; had any minister made such a proposition to him whilst he was on the throne, 'il l'aurait fait punir comme un traitre à son Souverain:' that the natural consequence of the way in which the promotion was regulated in the army would be to exclude men of birth, education, and talent from

entering it; that no man of rising abilities or influence would now make the profession his study; the army would soon be officered only by *sans culottes:* that the regulation and the law of elections were highly derogatory to the interests of royalty and the rights of the Sovereign; for by the law of election, as it at present stood, 'c'est toujours par la canaille que les députés seront choisis.'"

Sir Hudson Lowe added in his letter,—"As an instance of the principles in which the younger part of the establishment at Longwood are brought up, the Marquis, in addition to what has been repeated by [him as to] young Napoleon Bertrand's remarks respecting the Duc de Berri, mentioned that it was inconceivable the abhorrence which Mademoiselle Hortense Bertrand evinced every time she saw his 'cocarde blanche;' it was with great difficulty, when the Countess Bertrand with her family fell in with him, which has been rarely, except at the race meetings, that the Countess prevailed on her daughter (a young girl of about nine or ten years of age) to make any reply to him, or to behave herself with common civility; the sight of his 'cocarde blanche' struck her with a kind of pain or horror she could not overcome."

The letter thus went on:—

"May 29. The following alteration has recently been observed in the etiquette which is still affected to be maintained at Longwood. Professor Antommarchi, who had been in the habit of paying his daily visits to General Bonaparte in a common morning dress, with pantaloons and boots, has during this month past changed this dress for that of black breeches, silk stockings, and shoes; he pays his

visit to General Bonaparte thus attired at about ten o'clock every morning, remains with him from about five to ten minutes, returns to his own apartments, resumes his pantaloons and boots, and does not see the General during the remainder of the day.

"A material change has also taken place in General Bonaparte's own habits. On the 26th instant, Archambaud, his head groom, brought a small horse out to him which had been purchased from Lord Charles Somerset, having a saddle with crimson housings, when General Bonaparte, for the first time during these four years past, mounted and took a ride, in what is commonly called the wood, followed by his groom alone. He has now ridden three days successively, going out at six o'clock every morning, and returning at about eight, accompanied by no other person than his groom, and confining his ride (as if to avoid observation) to the wood, where he had been always able to take as much exercise as he pleased, without the interruption even of being seen by hardly any other persons than those of his own household."

This circumstance is also noticed in the report of the orderly officer, who under the date of the 28th of May says,— "General Bonaparte on Friday, yesterday, and this morning a little after six o'clock, walked towards the stable, when Archambaud brought out Miss Somerset's horse, saddled with a red velvet, which the General mounted and rode into the wood for about three quarters of an hour each day, accompanied only by Archambaud." On the same day Count Montholon told Captain Lutyens that he would be obliged if he would make an application for the last number of the 'Edinburgh Review.'

It must now be perfectly clear that, notwithstanding all the Governor's vigilance, the French at Longwood

found little difficulty in corresponding secretly with England. And conversing one day at the beginning of June with Montholon, the Marquis de Montchenu endeavoured to extract from him some information as to the mode in which Bonaparte had been enabled to transmit papers to Europe, referring in particular to those which had been published in his name by O'Meara. The Count said, "You know that in the month of August last we experienced much persecution. We believed that force would be used; and as Napoleon,"—"it is thus," observed the Marquis in repeating the conversation to the Governor, "that Count Montholon always speaks of General Bonaparte, calling him 'Napoleon,' and not 'l'Empereur,' except when he talks of events that occurred prior to the abdication in 1815, when alone the word 'Empereur' is introduced,"—"as Napoleon has great bundles of papers and memoirs in his room, he became very uneasy from a fear lest they might be searched; and in order to put some of them out of the reach of all danger he sought means to send them by a sure hand to England. It cost us a good deal to find a person who would take charge of them, but at last money accomplished it." The Count also told the Marquis that they had received things by the same channel as they had sent papers by. In mentioning this conversation to Earl Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe said,—"The persecution, as Count Montholon called it, which, in fact, was nothing more than the intimation made to General Bonaparte of the necessity of his affording to the orderly officer an opportunity of seeing him, had commenced before the Countess Montholon left this island in the month of July, consequently it is not impossible the manuscript may have been conveyed about her person, or

among her dresses." If, however, this were so, what Count Montholon said about money would be nonsense, for he could not have meant that his *wife* required to be largely bribed to take the papers with her to England.

On the 7th the Governor wrote to Lord Bathurst and said,—"I enclose a paper in the handwriting of St. Denis, General Bonaparte's principal amanuensis, in order that your Lordship may compare it with the writing of the letter to Lord Liverpool, and, whether it is in the same handwriting or not, that your Lordship may be enabled to make the trial which the publisher of Mr. O'Meara's book has provoked, of proving its originality as the production of General Bonaparte; and if the enclosed is in the same handwriting as the manuscript in Sir R. Phillips's possession, there can be little doubt that the letter was written under the dictation of General Bonaparte himself, and it may be interesting to ascertain this fact, as Marshal Grouchy is much more violently attacked in this work than in either that of General Gourgaud, or of Fleury de Chaboulon."

With reference to the work of Fleury de Chaboulon,[1] which had recently appeared, Count Montholon told Sir Hudson Lowe in the course of conversation that he was a man who had never been particularly known to Bonaparte until they met at Lyons in 1815; he had been before that time "un secrétaire au Conseil d'Etat, en quatrième;" but this gave him no particular facility of access to Napoleon, who might however possibly have dictated occasionally a few lines to him. He said his work might cause some effect in England, but it would be discredited in France.

[1] Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Retour et du Règne de Napoléon en 1815. London, 1820.

At another period Montholon told the Marquis de Montchenu that Bonaparte felt the greatest indignation at Fleury de Chaboulon for having dared to represent Ney and Grouchy as traitors—"Grouchy especially—the most honourable man in the world, a man whom the Emperor loves and esteems."

We may here mention a pleasing instance of Bonaparte's kindness. A non-commissioned officer had by mistake or carelessness stopped and demanded the names of some of the servants of the establishment at Longwood while they were within the limits, and Captain Lutyens on the 13th of the month wrote to Major Gorrequer, and said,—

"Count Montholon has this moment been with me. He said he had mentioned the circumstance of the serjeant of the picquet having demanded the name of some of the servants of the establishment who passed within the limits, and that Napoleon had ordered him to call on me immediately, that I might make known to the Governor his request that the serjeant should not be punished, and requested Count Montholon would give Archambaud a severe reprimand for presuming to say a word on the subject. Count Montholon also said to me, 'You may be certain that Napoleon is perfectly satisfied with everything the Governor has lately done, by his having ordered me to call twice at Plantation House within a short period.'"

Matters now went on smoothly at Longwood. No complaints were made, and the relations between the Governor and his captives, if not of a cordial, were at all events of an amicable nature. And yet it deserves to be particularly noticed that in no respect had Sir Hudson Lowe changed his line of conduct. He had

indeed granted more extensive limits to Bonaparte's suite in the preceding January, but this could not have produced such an agreeable alteration in their master's deportment. So that Sir Hudson was quite justified in saying to Lord Bathurst, when he wrote and alluded to the circumstance, "There has been no more cause afforded for expressing satisfaction at the present moment than at any former period of my governing here." He added, "In one point of view I have been even opposing somewhat more difficulty than heretofore to what I have conceived their principal object at Longwood, by refusing passes (except very rarely and on particular occasions when no vessels are sailing) to tradespeople from the town to go thither, with the view to check as much as possible all means of clandestine communication."

At the end of June Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, who had discharged the duties of chief military secretary with the greatest zeal and assiduity, returned to England, and Major Gorrequer was appointed to the office in his place.

Bonaparte's health was not quite so good in July this year. He had a bilious attack, and was at times feverish. On the 27th Count Montholon told the orderly officer that, although the Emperor was not very unwell, he was very low and in bad spirits, which made him very cross, and he was so restless that he changed from one bed to another frequently during the day and night. "Count Montholon," says Captain Lutyens, "had endeavoured to persuade him to get up, which he refused, saying it was a horrid windy day."

Sir Hudson Lowe reported to Lord Bathurst the particulars of a conversation which the Marquis de Montchenu had had with Count Montholon, when the

latter entered freely upon the subject of the possibility of escape from the island. The Marquis said that the question of evasion was spoken of by Montholon as a thing which they conceived not absolutely impossible, but very difficult, not merely from its physical difficulties, but owing to the "morale" of Bonaparte himself, whose mistrust was such that he would never confide his person to any one but a member of his own family, or some individual amongst his former servants in whom he had equal confidence; for, said Montholon, "if he got on board, who knows whether, when he was three leagues distant from land, he might not be thrown into the sea. Besides," added the Count, "he is strongly impressed with the idea that if he was caught in any attempt to escape they would blow his brains out." This opinion the Marquis said had taken the deepest hold of him.

Napoleon showed his present fretfulness of temper in his usual manner, by confining himself more closely to the house and affording few facilities to the orderly officer for assuring himself of his actual presence at Longwood. The Governor ascribed his ill-humour chiefly to his having been baffled in his attempt to re-establish Marshal Bertrand as the medium of introductions to and communications with him.

In the course of the month Rear-Admiral Plampin left the station and was succeeded in his command by Rear-Admiral Lambert. Before the former sailed he made known at Longwood his wish to take leave of Bonaparte and introduce his successor, but Bonaparte declined to receive the new Admiral unless he applied for an introduction through Count Bertrand.

A curious circumstance now occurred in an apparent attempt on the part of the Abbé Vignali to personate Napoleon and thus deceive the orderly

officer. On the 22nd of July it was reported to the Governor that Bonaparte had been riding, but it turned out that it was Vignali mounted on one of the ex-Emperor's horses, attended by his groom, and dressed nearly in the same manner as himself. And it was not an unimportant fact that Bonaparte did not leave his house that day at all. The following morning he attended mass in his own apartments, and was seen there by one of the English servants. Next day Vignali rode out attired and attended in the same way as before, but, being watched on his return by the orderly officer, he seemed a good deal disconcerted at meeting him near a place where he had dismounted, apparently in order to avoid being observed.

The following is Captain Lutyens' account of the incident:—

"A short time before seven o'clock this morning I saw Archambaud go to priest Vignali's window; soon after which I saw the priest come out, dressed in a nankeen jacket, something like the one worn by General Bonaparte, black breeches, with brown top boots, a straw hat, but not in the least like the hat worn by the General; it was lined with green, and bought lately at Mr. Ritchie's. I saw him mount Major Obin's horse in the wood, which was in readiness; Archambaud mounted Miss Somerset's chestnut horse: they then rode round the farm-fields down to the quarry, and were returning by the left of Colonel South's cottage when they perceived many of the officers and men on the look-out: they immediately turned their horses and galloped up the race-course, and returned to Longwood by the quarry-road, entered the wood, and dismounted. I then showed myself at a little distance, and returned to my room

before the priest could get to his: he came up the garden walk facing the guard-house, and sent young Bertrand to look if he could see me. When the priest got clear of the corner of the sod-wall, which he had been waiting behind, I left my room on purpose that he should see that I knew him. He looked very foolish."

It must have been an amusing sight to see the priest equipped in riding costume, and trying to pass himself off for the great military chief.[1]

[1] This was not the only disguise practised in the island, for not long afterwards an officer of the 66th regiment was tried by a court-martial, and cashiered, for bringing, while in command of the Longwood guard, a midshipman belonging to an East-Indiaman, dressed in the uniform of the 20th regiment, along with him on his visit to the sentinels posted round the house. The court, however, recommended him for a pardon, and Sir Hudson Lowe supported their merciful suggestion.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF LIMITS — DESPATCH FROM EARL BATHURST — LETTER TO LORD LIVERPOOL — THE FRENCH COMMISSIONER, THE MARQUIS DE MONTCHENU — NAPOLEON AT A PIC-NIC — CAPTAIN SPENCER'S CONVERSATIONS WITH BERTRAND AND MONTHOLON — CHANGE FOR THE WORSE IN NAPOLEON'S HEALTH — APPREHENSIONS OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AS TO A MEDITATED ESCAPE.

During the month of August Napoleon resumed horse-exercise, and rode out very frequently with Bertrand and Montholon; and sometimes Madame Bertrand formed one of the party. His steed was gaily caparisoned in housings of scarlet and gold, and he was himself usually in full dress. But he did not give up goat-shooting. One day he sent for a he-goat belonging to him, which the orderly officer had kept for some time with his own flock, and had it turned out on the lawn, where he killed it at the second shot. Pleased with his success, he then ordered another to be brought, which he fired at but missed, and the animal escaped unhurt. At another time he busied himself with giving directions about a Chinese summer-house which he was building in his garden.

He was, however, anxious still further to extend his limits, in order to obtain greater variety in his rides; and Count Montholon had one or two conversations with the Governor on the subject. As Montholon said Napoleon wanted distraction and change of scenery, Sir Hudson Lowe told him that he could not increase the limits in the way desired without the authority of his Government; and that

such ample information about St. Helena had been given, and so many plans made of it, that it was as well known in Europe as on the spot, so that the propriety of an extension of limits could be judged of as well in England as in this island. But, although he felt himself unable to comply with this request, he readily acceded to several suggestions made by Montholon as to a more convenient mode of posting some of the sentries to keep them out of view; and he himself proposed to put in repair a road called "le chemin militaire," which would give Napoleon the command of more varied and agreeable scenery. It passed over the crest of some hills, the prospect from which was the best in the island.

In the course of the conversation Count Montholon remarked, that the Governor had shown so much courtesy and consideration in all that he had done for a good while past, that he felt very certain he would be equally inclined on this occasion to do all in his power which might contribute to their comfort. Sir Hudson Lowe here adverted to the obstacles which Bonaparte's own conduct had always opposed, on which the Count said it was not so now; that Bonaparte had perceived for some time past so much "bienveillance et des soins si gracieux" on the part of the Governor in everything that related to their welfare or accommodation, that he viewed matters at present in a very different light. The Governor replied that there had been no change in his own sentiments or in the principles that had always guided him, and he was not sensible that there had been any change in his conduct; it depended entirely on the way of looking at things. He had always endeavoured to put himself entirely out of the question in all that he had done.

Count Montholon answered that he must himself, notwithstanding, say that the Governor had appeared to show more attention in anticipating their wishes for some time past than formerly, on which Sir Hudson repeated that the principles of his conduct had always been the same.

In truth there *was* no real difference, but the French were now in better humour, wearied, probably, of prolonging a contest of which they must have often felt themselves ashamed, and they were disposed to take in good part offices of courtesy which formerly they contemptuously and petulantly rejected.

In taking leave of the Governor, Count Montholon called the attention of Major Gorrequer to the inferior quality of the provisions supplied at Longwood. The bread, he said, had much fallen off; the beef was not so good; the beer not so drinkable; and there was not a sufficiency of fish. Their Burgundy also had become very sour and bad. There seems to have been some ground for these complaints; and, after making inquiry on the subject, Sir Hudson Lowe caused a severe letter of reprimand to be written to the purveyor, telling him that the failure of any article of ordinary and expected supply was not for a single day to be withheld from his information. With reference to the beer, the purveyor was directed to procure some casks of "what is called Hodson's pale ale."

On the 23rd of August a vessel arrived from England, which brought out Brigadier-General Coffin as successor to Sir George Bingham, and by the same ship appears to have come a despatch from Lord Bathurst, which is worth quoting as a proof of the really anxious desire on the part of the British Government to contribute to the happiness and amusement of their illustrious prisoner:—

"To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

"Sir, "Downing Street, June 2, 1820.

"It appearing from your recent despatches that General Buonaparte has of late found much amusement in the improvement of the garden at Longwood and in the cultivation of plants and shrubs, I have thought it advisable that you should take an early opportunity of expressing to him the satisfaction which His Majesty's Government would derive from contributing by every means in their power to his gratification in this particular. I have therefore to desire that you would take a fit opportunity of communicating this to General Buonaparte, and of assuring him that, if there are any plants either at the Cape or at any other British settlement, or in this country, which he may wish to add to his present collection, no effort on my part shall be wanting to procure and forward them to St. Helena in the manner best calculated to insure their safe arrival.

"If, in consequence of this communication, General Buonaparte should express any wish to receive either seeds or plants from the Cape or the Mauritius, you will consider yourself authorised at once to address the Governors of those colonies, who will, I am sure, lose no time in giving effect to any wish which you may express with respect to them.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"BATHURST."

On the 2nd of September Count Bertrand forwarded to the Governor a letter, written and addressed by him, in the name of the Emperor, to Lord Liverpool, in which he complained of the state of Napoleon's health, and demanded his removal to Europe. He said that the Emperor had been suffering under an

attack of chronic hepatitis since the month of October 1817; that no remedies applied could combat the malignity of the climate of St. Helena; that he required the use of mineral waters, and was exhausted by his five years' residence in that frightful climate, deprived of everything, and a prey to the worst treatment; he therefore demanded to be transferred to Europe as the only means of diminishing his sufferings.

As this letter ostentatiously made use throughout of the imperial title, the Governor felt himself obliged to return it, but he first had an accurate copy of it taken, which he forwarded to Lord Bathurst.

We have frequently had occasion to allude to the trouble given by the foreign Commissioners, although the reader has been spared details of the tedious and troublesome disputes in which they involved themselves with the Governor. These arose wholly from their anomalous and somewhat ridiculous position. Bonaparte had absolutely refused to receive them in their official and representative character, and they would not visit him as private individuals. Hence they had literally nothing to do but gossip and cabal, and had given Sir Hudson Lowe much trouble by their repeated attempts at unauthorised communications with the French families at Longwood. The Russian and Austrian Commissioners were now gone, and the whole dignity of their office was represented by the Marquis de Montchenu, who was inflated with rather an exaggerated sense of his own dignity and the importance of the functions he had to perform. Early in September he informed the Governor of his determination to carry into effect the instructions he had received from the Duke de Richelieu, in April 1819, directing him to visit the French at Longwood for the purpose of obtaining information respecting

Bonaparte. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, was firm in his refusal to allow this, and the poor Marquis tried to frighten him by a long letter on the 7th, in which, after dwelling upon his own "*inviolabilité*," and his being "responsible only to the King his master," he declared in due form his solemn resolution to go to Longwood "the first fine day," and said, "If, contrary to all likelihood, you cause the gate to be closed by a sentinel, you know that I do not understand English, and should not comprehend what he says; but I will pass on, even if he were to fire at me a shot which would soon re-echo through the whole of Europe!"

He was, however, mistaken in the character of the man with whom he had to deal. The Governor would not give way, and the result was that the crestfallen Marquis made pacific overtures — told Sir Hudson Lowe that he attached great value to his esteem, and desisted from his magniloquently-announced purpose.

The report of the orderly officer on the 12th of September illustrates the obstinacy of Napoleon's character, and his determination rather to punish himself than not carry a point on which he had set his heart. Captain Lutyens says,—"General Bonaparte was in the garden the whole of yesterday evening in his full dress with Count Bertrand. I have this moment seen Count Montholon and informed him that a cartload of trees had arrived for the plantation, and requested him to give me some hint where he would like to have them planted. He said he had been ordered (only yesterday) not to give any directions whatever, in consequence of his having then mentioned that he had spoken to me about planting, at which General Bonaparte was very angry, and ordered him not to give any directions if the iron railing re-

mained, and even requested him not to walk about the new house."

Happily, however, he no longer kept himself a close prisoner at Longwood House. On the morning of the 18th, soon after six o'clock, Bonaparte, attended by two grooms, quitted the precincts of Longwood on horseback, for the first time during four years, and rode round the entire circuit of his limits, as they were originally established; he then returned home, after being out two hours and a half. Next day he drove out in a small phaëton, but did not pass beyond the grounds of Longwood. Count Montholon said that he was much fatigued and exhausted with the exercise he had taken the preceding day, having walked a good deal as well as ridden.

Next day Count Montholon came up to Sir Hudson Lowe on the race-course and asked him if he could give him any information relative to the offer made by the British Government to send out a person to replace him or Count Bertrand. The Count said that his wife had written to inform him that such an offer had been made. As the Governor had sent to Napoleon by the hands of Montholon himself an exact copy of Lord Bathurst's letter of the 16th March, communicating the King's intention to accede to any request which Bonaparte might make with respect to the choice of a person to replace Count Montholon or Count Bertrand, he told the former, in reply, that he had made a notification on the subject to Bonaparte, and had delivered it to him (Montholon). "What, then!" said the Count, "it was the letter you gave to me for him?" Sir Hudson answered that it was an exact copy of the information he had himself received, and he lost no time after receiving it in communicating it to Bonaparte. "*Eh bien donc*," replied Count Mon-

tholon, "*il nous l'a caché—il ne nous en a pas dit un mot.*" The Governor then said that Montholon had at all events an opportunity of bringing the subject under the notice of Napoleon by showing him the letter he had received from his wife. The Count mentioned that he had done so, but that Bonaparte answered that he had received no communication on the subject; and Montholon added that perhaps this was said from his determination to take no cognizance of any paper addressed to him by the Governor, but that, at all events, he was interested in keeping Count Bertrand and him there, and would not make known to them the communication he had received.

We must now describe Napoleon Bonaparte enjoying a picnic, and it has an additional interest from the fact that it was the first visit he ever paid in the island, and the last time he ever took a meal in the presence of strangers, or anywhere except amongst his own followers in the seclusion of Longwood. About five miles from that place stood the house and grounds of Sir William Doveton, called Mount Pleasant, which, at Napoleon's special request, had been recently included within his limits. Sir William was a native of St. Helena, who had been for many years Member of Council there, and having visited England a year or two previously he had received the honour of knighthood.[1] On the morning of the 4th of October, as the old gentleman was taking his usual walk before breakfast, he observed

[1] This is the gentleman of whom Theodore Hook tells the story, that, happening accidentally, on his arrival in London, to meet a lady whom he knew in one of the crowded streets, he asked whether they had not better defer their conversation *until the procession had passed!* The natives of St. Helena were called by the English there "Yamstocks," and had the reputation of being very unsophisticated. A lady of the island once inquired whether London was not very dull after the China fleet had sailed.

several persons on horseback coming towards his house, and, on reconnoitring them with his spyglass, perceived they were the party from Longwood. Count Montholon dismounted from his horse, and Sir William went to the door to receive him; the Count informed him that the *Emperor* presented his compliments, and requested he might come and rest himself. Sir William replied, that he should be glad to see him, and that any accommodation his house afforded was at *General* Bonaparte's service. Montholon then mounted his horse, and, having joined the party, they all entered the lawn. Unfortunately the venerable knight was quite ignorant of the French language, and could only communicate through the medium of Count Bertrand, whose knowledge of English was not as perfect as it might have been. However, Sir William made his compliments in the best manner he could, and, as Bonaparte appeared a good deal fatigued, he requested that he would walk in and rest himself, upon which the ex-Emperor advanced towards the door, and on coming up the steps was assisted by Bertrand's arm. He sat on the sofa, and entered into conversation with his host, through Bertrand as interpreter. Observing Sir William's eldest granddaughter in the room, he said he supposed she was about ten years old. He was told she was only seven, and he called her to him, placed two of his fingers over her nose, and gave her a piece of liquorice, which he took from a small tortoiseshell box. Sir William Doveton begged Bertrand to inform Bonaparte that he hoped he would stop and breakfast with him; but this the illustrious visitor declined, saying, they had brought their own breakfast, and preferred taking it on the lawn. Sir William endeavoured to dissuade him from this, saying that the house, and whatever accommoda-

tion he could afford, was at their service, and he took Bonaparte and Bertrand into the dining-room, where he pointed to a large pat of fresh butter on the breakfast table, saying it was at the service of his guests. Upon this Bonaparte smiled, and gently took hold of his host's right ear, as was his custom when he wished to signify his approval. They then returned to the drawing-room, and Bonaparte resumed his seat on the sofa. Soon afterwards one of Sir William's daughters, Mrs. Greentree, came into the room with her youngest child in her arms, and Napoleon rose and pointed to the sofa as a sign that she was to sit there. Two of her little girls had each their noses taken hold of by the affable visitor, and received from him a small piece of liquorice. In the mean time Count Montholon had got a table and laid it on the lawn. Sir William Doveton sent out a variety of good things, and then the Count came in and announced that breakfast was ready. Their host was requested to go and share their meal, which he did, taking with him, he says, a pint bottle of Mount Pleasant water (*alias*, orange shrub), made by his daughter, and four liqueur-glasses. Bonaparte reserved for him a chair on his right hand, and desired him to sit there. After doing justice to some substantial viands, Bonaparte filled a small tumbler of champagne for Sir William and another for himself, and he afterwards drank a glass of the shrub. Coffee was then brought, and Bonaparte requested that Mrs. Greentree would come and partake of it. After she had tasted the coffee, which she found acid and disagreeable, Bonaparte filled a liqueur-glass with shrub and offered it to her. The party then rose, and Bonaparte handed Mrs. Greentree into the house, where he took his former seat on the sofa, with her beside him. In the course of con-

versation he put his favourite question to Sir William Doveton, and asked him, through Count Bertrand, whether he ever got drunk? To which Sir William replied, rather equivocally, "I like a glass of wine sometimes." He then turned to Mrs. Greentree, and inquired, "How often does your husband get drunk?—is he so once a week?" She answered, "No." "Is he once a fortnight?" She again replied, "No." "Once a month?" "No; it is some years since I saw him so." Bonaparte then said "Bah!" and changed the conversation.[1] After sitting some time he rose and took leave, holding Bertrand's arm as he went down the steps.

"The breakfast," Sir William tells us, "consisted of a cold pie, potted meat, cold turkey, curried fowl, ham or pork, I could not tell which; coffee, dates, almonds, oranges, and a very fine salad. From every appearance but his pale colour, it might be concluded that General Bonaparte was in good health; his face is astonishingly fat, and his body and thighs very round and plump." Indeed, to use the good knight's own words, which are more expressive than elegant, "he looked as fat and as round as a China pig."

Bonaparte on his return to Longwood was met at Hutt's Gate by his phaëton, and drove home in it. He was rather animated while on horseback going to Mount Pleasant, but in the carriage appeared a good deal fatigued and drowsy, which was perhaps caused by the length of the ride he had taken,—about ten miles in a very hilly country. He now frequently

[1] It is little complimentary to our national character at that time that Napoleon so frequently asked this question, and it is humiliating to think that he was so often justified in asking it.

"pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli."

drove out in his phaëton within the grounds of Longwood, where some avenues had been cut through the wood, so that he was able to vary the direction of his drives and rides on level ground within a space of about four miles, an advantage of which he might have always availed himself for taking exercise unobserved and uninterrupted, and which he could not have enjoyed to the same extent, or in the same way, had his residence been established in any other part of the island.

On the 25th of October H. M. S. Owen Glendower, commanded by the Hon. Robert Spencer, arrived at St. Helena. Although belonging to a family whose political opinions were in opposition to the Ministry, he was not honoured with an interview by Bonaparte,—apparently because he declined to apply for an introduction through Count Bertrand,—but he had one or two long conversations with the latter and Madame Bertrand, and they both spoke freely to him, under the idea that he belonged to a party in England which espoused their views. Their chief if not sole complaint now was the want of society, which Bertrand, as has been before mentioned, brought entirely upon himself by his improper conduct. Captain Spencer also saw and conversed with Count Montholon, and he remarked to the Governor the disregard of truth evinced in what was told him by the two French Generals. He said that several statements had been made by them which he knew to be untrue, and, when he showed by his replies that he felt this, they began to retract and qualify what they had just asserted.

On the 7th of November Sir Hudson writing to Lord Bathurst said,—"Captain Spencer's visit has formed much such another epoch as that of Mr

Ricketts and Lord Amherst, with this difference, that Captain Spencer came here with all those prepossessions that prejudiced or party views may have endeavoured to excite in General Bonaparte's favour, and to lead to the opinion of his being harshly and severely treated here, and he has quitted the island, as I have every reason to suppose, entirely the convert to a different opinion. He did not hesitate, in fact, to avow as much to me, seeming to think that, if the precautions erred in any way, it was more on the side of indulgence than unnecessary restraint. He rode round the limits, and acknowledged they included all that could be fairly desired."

A melancholy change now took place in the state of Napoleon's health. Symptoms of the fatal disease which at last carried him off began unequivocally to appear in frequent vomitings and pains of the stomach. His extremities became white and chilly owing to deficient circulation, and he often kept his bed in consequence of a feeling of oppressive drowsiness which came over him. He found some relief from the use of salt-water baths, and Dr. Antommarchi was constantly in attendance. He, however, still refused to see Dr. Arnott.

In writing to Lord Bathurst Sir. Hudson Lowe said,—"In reply to the offer I made of Dr. Arnott's assistance, the orderly officer was desired to acquaint me that General Bonaparte did not conceive either the British Government or Sir Hudson Lowe appeared sufficiently interested about the state of his health, as Count Bertrand sent some time since a letter to the Governor for Lord Liverpool, containing the opinion of Dr. Antommarchi, and the immediate wish of General Bonaparte himself, for the information of the

British Ministry; which letter had been returned in consequence of Count Bertrand having made use of the term 'Emperor Napoleon.'"

The reports of the orderly officer for the month of November assume almost the character of a medical journal, and the reader may be spared the mention of minute details which marked the progress of Bonaparte's disorder. He sometimes drove out in his carriage, but he looked pale, and his gait in walking was slow and feeble.

On one of these occasions Sir Hudson Lowe again unexpectedly met him, and he thus describes the rencontre:—"I was returning through the grounds of Longwood, towards Longwood House, when I observed a phaëton drawn by four horses with General Bonaparte and Count Montholon in it. As soon as they perceived me, the drivers were desired to turn off by another road, but this could not be done so soon as to prevent my having a good view of General Bonaparte's side face, at about thirty yards distance. He wore a round hat, and green surtout buttoned close over his breast. He appeared much paler than when I had last seen him, but not fallen away. I should have inferred, however, a looseness of fibre and inability at the moment of any active exertion. A sallow, colourless look is characteristic of his appearance in general, and any degree of indisposition would naturally add to it." He was, however, as eager as ever for news from Europe, and when any newspapers arrived became so absorbed in them as sometimes to delay his dinner for four or five hours beyond the usual time.

In his report on the 21st of November Captain Lutyens mentioned that Bonaparte had said to Count Montholon, in allusion to the iron railing, of which

part still remained at the back of the new house, "You may tell the Captain officially from me, that I do not like any of the railing, and I never will go to live in the house until it is done away with, unless by force;" and he requested the Count not to mention the house to him while the railing remained.

His sickness in the mean time continued to increase; and early in December after taking carriage exercise he fainted on his return to the house. His stomach frequently rejected food, and he seemed to be perceptibly weaker. Sir Hudson Lowe now determined to remove every possible objection to Dr. Arnott's being called in, and he directed a note to be written to Count Montholon, stating that that medical officer would be allowed to attend Bonaparte as an ordinary private patient, which had been originally the captive's own proposal. Still, however, the offer was declined, and Napoleon in the debility of sickness and exhaustion of pain continued to display his inflexible obstinacy of character. It is a circumstance worth notice that from the time when he began to be really ill he showed no disinclination to be seen by the orderly officer; whereas, while O'Meara attended him and constantly gave out that he was suffering from liver complaint, he eluded observation as much as possible. The inference is plain. The reports of O'Meara were, if not altogether untrue, grossly exaggerated, and every opportunity which was afforded of seeing Napoleon tended to discredit them; but now that the patient was seriously unwell he had no motive for concealing himself from view. Sir Hudson Lowe alluded to this change of tactics in a letter to Earl Bathurst of the 12th of December. He said,—

"The first confirmation I almost ever received of General Bonaparte's having been indisposed, from the

actual personal observation of the orderly officer, was in his report to me of the 7th November last, where, speaking of General Bonaparte, he mentions, that 'his face had every appearance of his being lately indisposed,' and it was remarkable that upon this occasion Count Montholon should have apprised the orderly officer of General Bonaparte's intention to take an airing, that he might thus have an opportunity of seeing him. . . . . .

"My meeting with him the following day was wholly unexpected, and admitted not time for any previous thought. The disposition he shows to move out and take drives in his phaëton shows that he now looks to air and exercise, the opportunity for which he had before so much neglected, as the principal means of his re-establishment, and meanwhile, whatever difficulties he may have formerly opposed to being seen, when stated to be suffering under indisposition, these now no longer appear to operate, except as to the rejecting professional aid, and thus still resisting the means of observation which that might afford."

The English Government, however, not yet aware of what was passing at Longwood, were possessed with the idea that Bonaparte meditated escape, as appears from the following extract from a letter which Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 30th of September this year:—

"The reports which you have recently made of the conduct of General Buonaparte and of his followers make me suspect that he is beginning to entertain serious thoughts of escaping from St. Helena, and the accounts which he will have since received of what is passing in Europe will not fail to encourage him in

this project. The overthrow of the Neapolitan Government, the revolutionary spirit which more or less prevails over all Italy, and the doubtful state of France itself, must excite his attention, and clearly show that a crisis is fast approaching, if not already arrived, when his escape would be productive of important consequences. That his partisans are active cannot be doubted; and if he be ever willing to hazard the attempt, he will never allow such an opportunity to escape. You will therefore exert all your attention in watching his proceedings, and call upon the Admiral to use his utmost vigilance, as upon the navy so much must ultimately depend.

"In what shape and in what manner this attempt will be made, I cannot judge, but I am satisfied this storm will not pass over unnoticed at Longwood. General Buonaparte has money at command; he has partisans in abundance; he has means of communication which your regulations may occasionally intercept, but cannot entirely prevent; the times are most favourable for the attempt; and, without thinking that he habitually courts a hazardous enterprise, I cannot persuade myself that he will shrink from one which, if successful, must now promise such important results."

And in a private letter to Sir Hudson Lowe written a few days previously Lord Bathurst said,—

"You will receive a despatch from me respecting the probability of General Buonaparte's attempting an escape. You are at liberty to show it *in extenso* to the Admiral; indeed, I have written it in a great measure for that purpose, as it will enable you to take a review with him of all the different ways by which Buonaparte may attempt his escape, and the best means therefore of preventing it. I am strongly im-

pressed with the idea that very much depends upon the navy. I have not the honour of being acquainted with the Admiral, but it is possible he may feel a greater security than the present crisis may admit, and this instruction will enable you to excite his attention without exposing you to the imputation of being unnecessarily alarmed."

CHAPTER XXIX.

PROGRESS OF NAPOLEON'S FATAL ILLNESS — LONG CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND COUNT MONTHOLON — BONAPARTE'S OPINION OF ANTOMMARCHI — NOTES DICTATED BY HIM FOR SIR HUDSON LOWE — THE NEW HOUSE AND IRON RAILING — BONAPARTE'S OBJECTION TO MEDICINE — NOVEL MODE OF TAKING EXERCISE — SIR HUDSON LOWE INSISTS THAT THE ORDERLY OFFICER SHALL SEE NAPOLEON — THE LATTER CONSENTS TO BE VISITED BY DR. ARNOTT — DR. ANTOMMARCHI APPLIES FOR LEAVE TO RETURN TO EUROPE — PRESENT OF BOOKS BY NAPOLEON TO THE 20TH REGIMENT — INCREASE OF HIS MALADY.

THE commencement of the year 1821, the last of Napoleon's existence, found him weakened and suffering. His attendants became anxious, but still no immediate danger was apprehended, and he continued to take drives in the neighbourhood of Longwood, but was observed to require assistance in getting in and out of the carriage. The mortal disease of which he died had already taken firm hold of him, and few more painful maladies can be conceived. It was a scirrhous cancer of the stomach, which by a slow process of ulceration corroded the coat of that organ, and rendered it unfit to perform its functions. This explains the frequent vomitings and the loss of appetite, with other symptoms which accompanied his illness.

Dr. Shortt, Physician to the Forces, had lately arrived at St. Helena, and his services were offered in addition to those of Dr. Arnott, but no answer appears to have been sent to the proposal. And yet Bonaparte had no confidence in Antommarchi, who

was in truth wholly unequal to the situation. In one of the orderly officer's reports this month he said that Napoleon had been very angry with the doctor, because the pills which he had been taking for some time past had lost their proper effect. This might be very hard upon Antommarchi, for the same result would very probably have happened if he had possessed first-rate skill in his profession; but Napoleon was getting tired of him, and wished to have another physician sent out in his place. And he was equally dissatisfied with the poor old Abbé Buonavita, who was no theologian, and quite unfit to hold converse on religious subjects with the keenest intellect of the age, or answer the questions of such a sceptic as Napoleon Bonaparte.[1] The wishes of the exile on these points were made known to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Montholon in the course of a long and interesting conversation he had with him on the 27th of January. The Count said that he was charged to request that the Abbé Buonavita might be replaced by a priest from Europe, and that a physician might also be sent out, as well as successors for Count Bertrand and himself; but that *Bonaparte particularly desired that his family might be entirely excluded from all interference whatever in the choice of any of them.* He had great reason to complain of the choice they had made in the persons last sent to St. Helena. The Count said that it perhaps was not so much the fault of the family, as of the position in which they were placed, in an ecclesiastical state, where they could not act with sufficient independence in making a selection. Besides, they had no relations with Paris, to enable them to make a good choice. Bonaparte wished, therefore, to leave it entirely to the decision of the

[1] The Abbé Buonavita quitted St. Helena for Europe before Bonaparte's death.

King of France and his Ministers, as he thought none could choose for him better than the French Government, the present Ministry being composed of persons nearly all of whom had served him in the same offices, and who so well knew his habits and disposition; for instance, there was Pasquier, who had been ten years his minister, with whom he confidentially conversed every day for hours, and discussed the characters of people; Monier was another who knew him perfectly, as well as Ségur, Simeon, Daru; and Latour-Maubourg, at this time Minister at War, who served with him for twenty-four years up to 1814, who had been his aide-de-camp, had accompanied him to Egypt, and whose fortune he had made. There was De Cazes himself, once his private secretary, who knew him intimately for several years, and who was in possession of many secrets known to none but himself.

At a previous period Count Montholon had described the new-comers in the following flattering terms: "The Abbé can only speak of Mexico; Antommarchi of medicine; and Vignali is perfectly ignorant."

With regard to a priest, Montholon said that Bonaparte wanted a man of education and learning, a theologian, with whom he could maintain arguments in theology, who would answer all his questions on religious matters in cases which required to be examined and sounded to their depths; one who was perfectly versed in the history of religion, and capable of acting as a guide to him in the perusal of the Scriptures; able to convince and satisfy his mind upon points where he felt doubts. He wished him to be from forty to fifty years of age, a man of erudition; for as to Buonavita, he was incapable of discussing any religious point, and had never studied; he was, in fact,

totally ignorant and without education. Napoleon, the Count said, was not satisfied without explanations on every point; he wished to fathom everything, and had lately observed to him, "Although I feel myself growing weaker and weaker every day, and am extremely ill, I am not yet brought to bay in a state to require the succour of religion; still, if I found myself reduced to that plight, is it to a person like that I could address myself to become enlightened and obtain spiritual aid? Who knows? Voltaire himself asked for the consolations of religion before his death, and perhaps I also might find much comfort and relief in the society of an ecclesiastic capable of inspiring in me a taste for religious conversation, who might render me devout."

As to the young priest Vignali, Montholon said, when he came out to St. Helena *he could neither read nor write*, though he was now studying very hard, and making great efforts. With respect to Dr. Antommarchi, he was a good anatomist, and perhaps a good surgeon also; but he was very ignorant. He had not even finished his studies when he came to the island, and had never been in society. As Napoleon must know everything, and have his inquiries satisfactorily answered, which Antommarchi could not do, he had taken a dislike to him. Besides, added the Count, his manners were too frivolous and presuming; he had begun by giving himself a good deal of importance, and on his arrival believed that the whole island was at his command. There could be no difficulty in making a selection of a proper person; Paris abounded with physicians of the highest reputation, and the Ministers of the King of France might easily procure one.

With respect to the successors of Count Bertrand and himself, proceeded Montholon, one was required

to be an officer, and General Drouot was the person preferred. He was a man of great means, talent, and information, had been long near Bonaparte, had followed him to Elba, and was the person, of all others, best adapted for the situation.

The Governor here remarked, that he thought the British Government would readily consent to General Drouot's coming to St. Helena. On which the Count said that, if Drouot did not agree to it, some other general officer (but one of the two must be an officer) should be selected who had served with Bonaparte, and who had a knowledge of his disposition and character.

As to the second person, he might be a civilian, and even a person who had been once an ecclesiastic, who had been one of Napoleon's Councillors of State or Chamberlains, or an old confidential friend, who might have been intimate with Bonaparte when he was an officer of artillery at the commencement of his career; provided he was accomplished, a man of literature, of talent, and of gravity, and of whom he could make a companion, it was all he required.

The conversation then turned upon the new house, which was all but ready for Bonaparte's reception, and Montholon said they were much in want of a new bookcase, for they had about 2700 volumes, of which nearly half were lying on the floor, and heaped up on the top of the existing bookcases. This shows that there was no dearth of literature at Longwood.

On the 30th of January Count Montholon wrote to the Governor, and said, he sent him some notes which he "was charged" to address to him on the subject of their recent conversation. They were the following:—

"1. The Emperor Napoleon is ill, and can never experience any alleviation in this island. He has need

of the air of Europe, and requires this year mineral waters. He has long been a prey to the most cruel agony.

"2. Signor Antommarchi, his surgeon, is insufficient to afford him succour in his actual state of illness; he desires to have one of the physicians of his old maison de santé at Paris, or one of those who have served in the army as physician in chief to the forces (Médecin en Chef de Corps d'Armée), and more than forty-five years of age. Messrs. Degenette, Perey, and especially M. Larrey, would be able to designate the medical man whom they judged worthy to gain the confidence of the invalid.

"3. He will receive with pleasure any one who may have been attached to his person, and especially the Ducs de Vicence, de Rovigo, the Counts de Ségur, de Montesquiou, Daru, Drouot, de Turenne, and the literary men Barons Denon and Arnauld.

"The part taken by Lord Bathurst in addressing himself to Cardinal Fesch at Rome, which appeared prudent, has proved a failure by reason of the surveillance exercised over all the members of his family and the impossibility of their corresponding with France. Everything that is necessary to do can be done only by the direct intervention of the English or French Government.

"LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

"Longwood, January 30, 1821."

These notes were returned the next day to Count Montholon, with the following reply:—

"The instructions under which the Governor is acting place him under the indispensable necessity of returning the enclosed paper, on account of the use in it of the imperial title. The Governor had already the honour of acquainting Count Montholon that he

should not fail to make known to the British Government the propositions which formed the subject of his communication to the Governor on the 27th instant, and the Governor now desires to add, that he shall not omit to avail himself of the more specific information which the enclosed paper has conveyed upon some of the points that were then spoken of, to render the report to his Government regarding them as full and as exact as possible.

"H. LOWE.

"Plantation House, January 31, 1821."

During February Bonaparte was attacked with constant sickness, and he had great difficulty in keeping any food upon his stomach. Meat jelly made of veal was what he most easily retained, and when this was discovered some was immediately sent for his use from Plantation House, and a cook was also despatched by the Governor to Longwood who made excellent soup, of which Bonaparte partook and relished it very much. Count Montholon told Captain Lutyens "it was so good the d—d doctor would not let the Emperor eat much of it."

On the 15th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst and said,—"Having asked further some questions of the orderly officer, I have been informed by him that the servants of the house say General Bonaparte eats very frequently, but little at a time, and at very irregular intervals; sometimes calling for soup when he wakes in the night-time. He walks unassisted when in his garden. One of his servants, Noverraz, is frequently employed in shooting doves for him, of which he is said to be fond."

On the 19th the orderly officer reported,—"About half-past four yesterday evening I was coming from the stables on horseback, when I met General Bona-

parte, leaning on Count Montholon's arm, walking towards the stables. I took off my hat, which the General returned by raising his on his head. He looked very pale and languid. I see no alteration in his appearance for the better since I last had a good view of him. They then drove round the wood in the phaëton, and returned in about three-quarters of an hour. Count Montholon requested I would return his thanks for the jelly."

In the course of conversation at Longwood, where Sir Hudson Lowe had gone on the 10th of February, to call upon Count Montholon, the Governor said he hoped the new house would be found convenient and comfortable, if they were disposed to occupy it (si l'on est disposé à l'occuper).

The Count replied,—"The house appears to me very comfortable and convenient, and I confess I am astonished that you have succeeded in erecting such a building in so short a time and in so perfect a manner with the few materials to be found in this island." He added that he hoped there would be no objection to taking possession of it, and that indeed he believed there would be no real obstacle; for his own part, he was extremely desirous on every account that it should be occupied. He said that the floors of that part of the old house occupied by Bonaparte were in so rotten a state, that in some parts the boards broke under the feet in walking, and that his own rooms, when compared to that portion of the house, were superb. He then spoke of the plantations, and mentioned the success of their attempts in transplanting trees of considerable growth, peach-trees in particular, and even several oaks of some size, and suggested that similar means should be adopted for procuring shade near the new building.

In another conversation on the 16th Count Montholon said that Bonaparte's great objection to the iron railing was, that it came up too close to the left of the new house. Had it been further off nothing would ever have been heard about the matter; on the contrary, Bonaparte would have been glad of it, as forming a secure fence against the cattle, and preventing the curious from intruding beyond it. He remarked that, on its arrival at St. Helena from England, O'Meara hurried up from town to tell Bonaparte that a ship had just arrived loaded with "400,000 livres" of iron railings, for the purpose of hemming him in and enclosing his house within fifteen yards distance all round; in fact, to form an iron cage round him.[1] That, in consequence of this, when Napoleon saw the railing being put up along the lawn in front of the new building, he became exasperated, exclaiming, "There is the cage. O'Meara was right. I am going to be imprisoned within an iron railing!". The Count said that he had, however, reasoned so much with him on the subject, that it was no longer to the railing itself he objected, but to its being so near the house; that, provided he had a space enclosed, so that the new house would stand in a more central part of

[1] "Soon after the iron railings arrived here, and began to be landed, Mr. O'Meara told me that General Bonaparte had heard of it, and immediately complained that they were going to make an iron cage for him; but he (Mr. O'Meara) had explained to General Bonaparte, without my having even spoken to him before on the subject, that the railing was precisely of the same description as that put up in the front of gentlemen's houses in England (which it really is), and that General Bonaparte had become quite satisfied after this explanation had been given to him. I preserved no note of this conversation with Mr. O'Meara, but can attest that it not only occurred as above related, but that Mr. O'Meara at the time spoke in such way as to impress me with the idea he had entirely removed all objection to the railing; and in fact I have ascribed the silence observed by him on this subject, in the different libels against me to his recollection of this conversation."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

the grounds, he would have no objection to the whole of such extent being surrounded with the railing. There would be some little additions required in the interior of the building, all, however, connected with the personal comfort or convenience of General Bonaparte; he could not exactly tell what they might be; but the Governor said he would be happy to do anything in his power to render the dwelling as convenient as possible for General Bonaparte, and that he would inspect the ground and see what could be done as to the enclosure. He had already planned an enclosure such as Count Montholon spoke of.

The Count observed that Bonaparte would himself look about the place and see what could be done, or what he might desire to have done, in regard to making some little gardens about the new house, in compensation, as it were, for those he should lose about the old house.

"The only thing now which annoys," added Montholon, "is the six o'clock sentries" (meaning those at sunset), "for at that hour when he feels well he wishes to walk out.[1] So long as he continues unwell, it is of little consequence, because at that hour he will be in bed; but not so when he finds himself able to walk out in the evening." He said that, with respect to the sentries at nine o'clock at night, Bonaparte was quite indifferent on that subject; they had formerly conceived it would be very pleasant to walk about during the fine nights, but now they found it was not to be done without injury to health, and Bonaparte had

[1] "Count Montholon's objection appeared here to be made on the supposition that the sentries were to be posted round the iron railing after sunset; but it was not my intention to place them round it until nine o'clock at night, having already designed an external cordon for those after sunset, so as not to incommode General Bonaparte by their observation during the *very short time* that any twilight prevails."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

entirely surrendered his former opinion on that point; the sentries might be planted close to the very wall of the house at nine o'clock and he would be perfectly satisfied.

However much he might try to conceal the fact, there is no doubt that Bonaparte took great interest in the arrangement of the house and grounds at his intended new abode, and through Count Montholon made several suggestions in the way of improvement. In one of these, however, he was rather inconsiderate. After allowing the work to be so far completed before he hinted at any desired change, Montholon told the Governor that Napoleon wished, as the quickest way of procuring shade, that a trellis-work, such as had been made in the small garden near the old house, might be constructed in front of the new building, to cross over the terrace down to the trees, and that the part of the lawn next the terrace might be brought down by a gentle slope to the trees, and also that the iron railing might be removed.

The Governor remarked that this plan would involve immense work, and was what he had not contemplated; it would be rendering vain the long and laborious task which the formation of the terrace in its present shape had involved. He would have attended with pleasure to any suggestion on this point, and readily taken into consideration the proposals now made by the Count had they been communicated to him whilst the work was in progress; but it was now too late to urge these objections. He said he had sent plans to Longwood to Montholon himself, desiring an opinion on them before the building was begun, as he was anxious to attend as much as possible to their wishes, but no answer had been returned.

The Count replied that it was very true that the

plans had been sent for inspection to Longwood, but unfortunately they had not understood each other; and by his gesture and a half-suppressed lamentation he appeared to wish it to be understood that it had not been his fault, although he was not at liberty to discuss the subject then. He said, however, that nobody was more desirous to take possession of the new building than Bonaparte himself, who often asked, "Who can have a greater interest in seeing that I occupy it than myself? Is it not plain that I must wish to be lodged in a good house rather than remain in a bad one? Is it not I who will gain the most?" "He feels obliged," continued the Count, "to the English Government for having caused to be built for him such a house, and to you for the pains you have taken in its construction. Napoleon, however," added Montholon, "considered the old house with the gardens adjoining it preferable to the new one, if it remained without the adoption of his suggestions; and he said, 'Why, then, should I leave the place I now occupy to go into another less pleasant to me?'"

Montholon then mentioned another objection,—the position of the orderly officer's quarters, which he wished to be removed further off. After a long and amicable conversation, the Governor on leaving said he would take into consideration all that had been mentioned to him.

A few days afterwards the Governor informed Count Montholon that he had decided upon including the whole space in front of the new house containing trees within the enclosure; and ample space would be afforded for laying out the grounds either in gardens or any other desirable mode. The Governor then alluded to the "grille," or iron railing, and said that, if he understood the Count rightly, he had stated that

the objection was not against the railing itself, but against its too great proximity to the house, and that, so long as it was placed at a sufficient distance from the building, it would not be objected to. The Count replied that the Governor had perfectly understood him—the objection was that it was too near the house. He said that Bonaparte always took his stand on the principle that he had hitherto enjoyed an enclosure of a certain extent about his house, and when he found that distance reduced to 15 or 20 toises[1] he opposed it. "Why," he asked, "should I make such a sacrifice?" Their object was in all cases to gain whatever they could, and not to lose any advantage they already possessed—to surrender nothing without obtaining an equivalent.

As a further illustration of this line of policy, Montholon mentioned that Bonaparte had also acted on the same principle with regard to the orderly officer. He had remarked, "This officer is now at a distance of fifteen toises from my apartments, and his rooms at the new building at three toises only: why should I give up that space, and let him thus gain twelve toises upon me?" Had the new house, however, been so constructed as to have put the same distance between the orderly officer's rooms and those of Bonaparte as at present existed, he would not have spoken a word on the subject. He considered him in fact as the officer of the guard, and they had never been inconvenienced by either—he knew that where there were guards there must be officers.

The Governor having inquired why Bonaparte did not take possession of the new house, which would be

[1] "The difference arises as follows:—The garden, being about 100 toises in depth, lay in front of the old house, whereas it is in the *rear* of the new one. The space in the rear of the old house was not even 15 toises."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

found so much more comfortable during the bad weather that then prevailed, the Count replied that for two days Napoleon had been confined to his bed by an attack of fever. He said that he would not take any medicine, notwithstanding all their entreaties and efforts to induce him, and that he (Montholon) had been the whole day trying to persuade him to take a dose of castor oil, but he could not prevail upon him to do so. "You have no idea," added the Count, "what a bad patient he is; he is worse than an infant two years old—one can do nothing with him." He also stated that the last time they were out together in the carriage his mind began to wander, and he spoke incoherently. Dr. Antommarchi had told him that he perceived during the night that there was an incoherence in all that he said, and that he was much struck with it. The Count then said that Bonaparte was extremely ill; his mental and bodily powers were equally depressed; he was in the last degree of weakness, and in a state of perfect prostration, from which he could not be roused.

The Governor asked why some other medical men were not called in, and a consultation held in his case. The Count said he had frequently and earnestly urged him to do so. That very day, or the preceding, he had strongly pressed him to have recourse to further medical advice, but he obstinately refused—not, however, because he felt any objection to see English medical men, but he said that, as he could not keep anything on his stomach in the shape of food, he was much less likely to retain medicine, and their assistance could therefore be of no use. He had taken such a dislike to Antommarchi, in consequence of the medicine he had given him, that he could not now bear the sight of him, and it was only by stealth that he

(Montholon) could get him into his room. He made Antommarchi slip in now and then, when he thought it was necessary he should see him, for he would not allow him to be called. Bonaparte said that it was owing to the medicine he had taken that he was so ill.

Reverting to the state of Napoleon's mind, the Count said it was not to be wondered at after his tremendous fall, and considering the height from which he had been precipitated, of which the bare idea was enough to crush and overwhelm; and then that frightful captivity—that hopeless exile—to which no limit could be seen! He remarked that Napoleon was at first supported by the hope of some change—thinking that the British Government might after a certain time remove him from St. Helena, which hope his attendants had always buoyed up; but he had seen two, three, four, five years expire without any appearance of a change, and he now sank under it. He had himself said, a short time ago, "There is no more oil in the lamp." Dr. Antommarchi's opinion, added the Count, was that Bonaparte's principal malady consisted in the organs of digestion and the heart, neither of which performed their due functions; his stomach was incapable of producing digestion, and his heart did not excite a sufficiently quick circulation of the blood. This last, however, was not a recent complaint—the circulation of the blood had always been defective with him. About twenty years ago Corvisart had predicted to him it would in the course of time become a disease, and, when Napoleon was complaining to him of his being so meagre, he had said, "Do not desire to become fat; you will be so too soon, and will have cause to regret it." He was then a General, and Corvisart observed, "Whilst you are actively employed, and you continue to take the

same exercise to which you have been hitherto habituated, you will keep away the disease; but when you become engaged 'dans le travail de cabinet'—when you must devote a great part of your time to sedentary employment—you will grow too fat, and this will be owing to the want of a free circulation of blood." And so, said Montholon, it proved;—from the time of his being made First Consul, but particularly after he became Emperor, he rapidly increased in corpulency: his blood flowed in so sluggish a manner now, that sometimes his pulse could scarcely be felt even in the arteries, and it produced an icy coldness in the extremities. Dr. Antommarchi had found out for some time a remedy for the coldness in his lower limbs, but it had returned within the last two or three days, and reached half-way up above the knees. In order to restore the circulation he was obliged to use hot towels and flannels, heated to such a degree that his attendants could scarcely even touch them, and yet he himself scarcely felt them, and it was not until the application of six or seven of these that the usual degree of circulation was re-established. It was this slow circulation of blood, said Montholon, which made him so calm. His indifference and apathy to everything had now become so great that the newspapers, the late publications, and books recently arrived, which would some time ago have proved so interesting to him, scarcely attracted a moment's attention. He had also been losing his memory for the last twelve months.

As the Governor was taking leave he renewed an offer he had previously made of sending anything from Plantation House which he thought Bonaparte might feel inclined to take. For this the Count gratefully returned his thanks, saying, "I am perfectly

sensible of your obliging offer, and fully persuaded of the attention you are disposed to manifest on this occasion."

On the 18th of March Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst and said,—

"I yesterday heard of an extraordinary way in which General Bonaparte has of late contrived to take riding exercise within doors, mounted on a species of hobby. It appears that in his billiard-room, which has remained closed for some time to all English persons, there is a beam fixed in such way as to admit of another being suspended in balance across it, at one extremity of which a weight is placed equal to that of General Bonaparte's person, and at the other end a saddle. This saddle General Bonaparte mounts, and raises himself up and down by the movement of his feet in touching the ground at his pleasure. The person who gave this information is Mr. Darling, the upholsterer in attendance at Longwood, and to whose admission to any part of the house there has been rarely any objection made. He had heard of this contrivance from a Chinese mechanic employed about the house, and made an effort to get into the billiard-room, but could not succeed. There is still room therefore for some doubt regarding the description, but I give it as it has been related to me in the first instance."

In another despatch of the 24th Sir Hudson wrote,—

"The Marquis de Montchenu showed to me a few days since part of a letter he was writing, giving an account of Count Montholon's last conversation with him, wherein, speaking of the conspiracy which had been detected last year, he observed it was General Bonaparte's opinion, the object of the conspirators, if

they had succeeded in their attempt against the Bourbons, would have been to call either Eugene Beauharnois or his (Bonaparte's) son to the throne of France. He thought Eugene however the least likely, as it was known he possessed a certain firmness of character, and would endeavour to maintain the position in which he might be placed. His son, therefore, he believed, would have been fixed upon, because this would have afforded the opportunity for the formation of a regency, and he could almost name those persons who were likely to have composed it. They would unite their efforts together to bring about the régime of 1793. It would then be found there was no occasion for a king, '*et puis on assassinera mon fils.*'"

In addition to his mortal malady, Bonaparte had for several days this month a sharp attack of fever, and on the 24th Captain Lutyens reported that Count Montholon had told him that he had done everything in his power to persuade the invalid to see Dr. Arnott. He had even gone on his knees to him on the subject, but Napoleon replied, "No! No!"

Dr. Arnott, however, went the next day to Longwood, but could not see either Bonaparte or Dr. Antommarchi. He had only an interview with Count Montholon, who told him that Antommarchi called the disease a gastric intermittent fever.

On the 28th the orderly officer reported that Madame Bertrand informed him that since the fever came on again that morning Bonaparte had refused to take any medicine from the doctor, and said he would not take any more; he would leave his illness to nature, and he made the priest Vignali feel his pulse, "which she thought perfect madness."

As several days had elapsed since the orderly officer had seen Bonaparte, it became necessary to

take steps for accomplishing this object, as to which the Governor's positive instructions from the English Government left him no discretion. And it was obviously right that he should not content himself merely with the assertions of the foreign attendants at Longwood, after having been so often deceived by them in many ways. Sir Thomas Reade therefore wrote on the 29th to Captain Lutyens a letter by order of the Governor, in which he said,—

"If General Bonaparte is really so ill as Dr. Antommarchi and Count Montholon have represented him to be, it is an act of humanity on their part to insist upon calling in other medical advice; and it will be regarded as a criminal neglect at the same time on the part of his medical adviser, whilst he is represented to be in such danger, to delay calling in other medical assistance to him *until to-morrow.*

"'It is your duty to insist, after what has been said to you of General Bonaparte's illness, upon having an opportunity afforded to you of seeing him, if an English medical person is not admitted to him."

Sir Hudson Lowe himself called on Count Montholon the next day, and had a long conversation with him on the subject. He told him that it had now become necessary there should be no further delay on his part in performing his duty; and therefore, if either the orderly officer, or a British medical officer, was not allowed an early opportunity of seeing Bonaparte, he was determined to adopt such measures as would enable him to obtain the requisite information with regard to his presence. He said he should regret exceedingly being compelled to have recourse to any measure of coercion, but he was resolved no longer to postpone obtaining proof of his presence.

He had abstained from pressing the point until he had fully made up his mind on the subject, but, having done so, he had called upon the Count for the purpose of making known to him in the most formal and official manner his final decision, but it would give him infinite pleasure if he could attain his object without having recourse to disagreeable means.

Sir Hudson then left, but again returned in the afternoon, and stated that the India ships were waiting for a signal from him before they sailed, and it was therefore necessary that Bonaparte should be seen, in order that the signal might be made for their departure, and Dr. Arnott was then waiting in attendance at Longwood. Count Montholon said this was a thing which could not be done in an hour; it was necessary to combine some plan to endeavour if possible to persuade Bonaparte to see Dr. Arnott; it was impossible he could at once go into his room and abruptly deliver to him the communication made by the Governor. In order to devise some means of effecting it, he had, immediately after the Governor quitted him in the morning, gone down to Count Bertrand to confer with him on the subject, and they had agreed to unite their efforts, and use all the arguments they could possibly urge, to induce Bonaparte to admit a British medical officer to see him. He therefore trusted the Governor would not press the matter at present, but would give them the whole day; and it was only four-and-twenty hours longer he asked for. The Governor replied that, although he had already detained the ships one day, he would take upon himself to detain them till the next morning, and would not therefore insist upon carrying his intention into effect that day, but he would not postpone it further; the ships must sail to-morrow.

After some further conversation Sir Hudson asked why the orderly officer could not have a view of Napoleon through his windows, or why he could not be taken to the door of his room? The Count replied that it would be of no use, as the bed was so low, and in such a situation, that it could not be seen from the windows; and as for going to the door, it would be of no avail, for the room was constantly kept so dark during the day as well as night, that Napoleon could not be seen without a light, and he would only allow a lantern cased in paper to be brought into his room, giving just sufficient light to distinguish him at the side of the bed; the light being so painful to his eyes that he could not bear it.

The firmness of the Governor had the desired effect, and in his report next day the orderly officer stated,—

"I was waiting for Count Montholon to get up this morning, when he sent for me before he was dressed. He told me he had been endeavouring to fix upon some plan to enable me to have a view of General Bonaparte, and that he had last night consulted with Marchand, and they had agreed that, if I appeared in the garden in front of the bedchambers, they would, if possible, cause me to see him, by means of leaving the blinds a little open. I accordingly repaired to the garden, when Count Montholon, who was in the act of shutting the bed-room venetians, came out to me, and told me to look through a window, the venetian and curtain of which he had purposely left a little open; he observed to me that General Bonaparte was then actually being assisted from one bed to the other. I looked as he desired, and perceived General Bonaparte, leaning on Dr. Antommarchi, come from the inside room, and heard him get into the bed of the room in which I looked."

A further and still more important point was now gained in the consent of Napoleon to see Dr. Arnott. Count Montholon told the latter that Bonaparte wished him to attend professionally, on condition that he would treat him in every respect as he would any other patient. Dr. Arnott replied that he would not treat him in any other manner, such being the known wish of the Governor. When this was communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe he immediately expressed his approval, and informed Dr. Arnott that, with respect to giving bulletins, none would be required by him, unless under circumstances which could not then be well foreseen. If, however, they were called for, information would be given of it.

Dr. Arnott was admitted to Napoleon's bedside for the first time on the night of the 1st of April. He had been dining with the orderly officer, and at half-past ten Dr. Antommarchi came in and asked him to visit Bonaparte. Dr. Arnott says, "I went with him, and I was walked into a dark room where General Bonaparte was in bed. The room was dark, so that I could not see him, but I felt him or some one else. I examined his pulse and state of skin. I perceived there was considerable debility, but nothing that indicated immediate danger."

Knowing as we do now the dreadful malady which was wasting the illustrious exile away, and the imminent danger in which he at this time was, it is certainly strange that Dr. Arnott did not for some time entertain apprehensions of a fatal result. On the 6th of April we find Sir Thomas Reade saying in a letter to the Governor,—"Dr. Arnott informed me that he had never found him, during any of his visits, in the state in which he had been described by Dr. Antommarchi. From what I could learn generally, out

of Dr. Arnott's conversation, he appears to think that General Bonaparte is not affected with any serious complaint, probably more mental than any other. Count Bertrand had asked him his opinion of General Bonaparte: he told him that he saw no danger whatever. During his visit this morning he recommended General Bonaparte to rise and get shaved. He replied he was too weak at present, that he would shave when he was a little stronger. He always preferred shaving himself. His beard is very long, and Dr. Arnott describes his looks in consequence to be horrible. I inquired if he appeared much emaciated? His reply was in these words: 'No; I feel his pulse frequently, and he has as stout a wrist, with as much flesh upon his arm, as I have, neither does his face appear to have fallen away much. I see nothing very particular in his appearance except his colour, which is very pallid—cadaverous. I saw him vomit this morning, which is the only extraordinary thing I have observed; he did not, however, vomit much.'"

But still more strange was the conduct of Dr. Antommarchi. He did not disguise his opinion that Napoleon was in a precarious state, and yet at this very time he applied for leave to return to Europe. On the 9th of April he called at Plantation House, and, finding that the Governor was not at home, he told Major Gorrequer that he had come for the purpose of speaking to him upon a subject personal to himself. As he found it impossible to afford the aids of his profession at Longwood, he had determined to apply for permission to return to Europe. Major Gorrequer offered to accompany him to James Town, where he could see Sir Hudson Lowe, and they went together. On the road the doctor observed, that on engaging to come out to St. Helena he had hoped to

render some service. If, therefore, he had been able to afford his professional assistance, he would most willingly have stayed so long as he was useful; but as he found that he was of no use he felt most anxious to return to Europe; he would there resume his literary and professional studies, and complete the work he was then occupied in publishing, which could not be so well done during his absence as if he himself were superintending its publication, particularly the execution of the engravings. The book, he said, was a valuable one, and would form his whole patrimony, for whatever the sale of it produced was all he had to depend upon.

On arriving at the Castle in James Town, Dr. Antommarchi told the Governor that, finding his assistance was of no use at Longwood, he had waited upon him to request permission to return to Europe. The Governor replied, that it was a request that required deliberation on his part; he regretted to find that at this particular moment, when so much benefit was to be expected from the joint advice of himself and Dr. Arnott, he should have decided on making such a demand. Antommarchi declared that no feeling whatever towards Dr. Arnott had influenced him in making this request: they acted in the completest accord, and concurred fully on every point. Dr. Arnott was an upright man, and he hoped he himself was so likewise, but, as he found himself of no use, his continuance at Longwood could be of no advantage. He then adverted to the unpleasantness of his situation, on account of the temper of Bonaparte, and the services required of him, more like the attendance of a menial, assigning this also as a motive for wishing to return to Europe, "e di sciogliere il nodo de' legami." The Governor replied, "But, Signor Pro-

fessor, it is necessary always to consider the temperament of the patient (il genio della persona) and circumstances of the case."

Dr. Antommarchi said that, placed under the circumstances in which he felt himself there, it was best for him to return home, to attend to his own personal affairs, to pursue his literary occupations, and complete the work he had undertaken, which he was very desirous of doing. He therefore begged that the Governor would permit him, as soon as convenient, to leave the island. The only answer given by Sir Hudson Lowe was, that it was a demand of a nature that required deliberation, and that he must refer it to England.

An incident occurred on the 14th which might, we think, have been treated differently by the Governor, and with respect to which he seems to have acted under an overstrained sense of duty. Dr. Arnott had pressed his refractory patient very strongly to take some medicine, on which Napoleon good-humouredly said that he must not urge him to do a thing in the same manner as he would one of the soldiers of the 20th (Dr. Arnott's) regiment, and immediately afterwards he began to praise the British soldiers, and said he would send the officers of the 20th Coxe's 'Life of Marlborough,' which had been presented to him by the Hon. Robert Spencer. The volumes were accordingly sent to the orderly officer's room, and Dr. Arnott explained the object of the donor. Captain Lutyens forwarded to Major Jackson, the commanding officer, the books, in which it unfortunately happened that the imperial title was written. Napoleon asked Dr. Arnott how the officers liked the books, but something diverted his attention and no anwer was given.

When Sir Hudson Lowe heard of the circumstance

the next day he wrote to Dr. Arnott and said,—"Captain Lutyens has mentioned you have been again spoken to regarding the books, but that, something occurring in the room at the time, you were enabled to avoid making any reply. This is so far well, as the attempt to make you the channel of communication in such matters, *they well know*, is foreign to your professional duties, and it will probably, therefore, not have been made without some ulterior design in view."

Sir Hudson Lowe having left the option of accepting or rejecting the books to the commanding officer, Major Jackson wrote to Captain Lutyens, with the knowledge and full approval of the Governor, the following note:—

"Sir,

"Having seen the book which was left in your room, and heard what had been said to Dr. Arnott regarding it, I really do not see how you can with propriety, as a captain of the 20th regiment, undertake to forward, as a present from General Bonaparte to the officers of the regiment, whether through me as the commanding officer of it or through any other channel, a book which bears the imperial name on the title-page. It does not appear, besides, that the Governor has been either written to or spoken to regarding it. You ought, therefore, to take an opportunity of explaining to Count Montholon the delicacy of your situation in this particular, and ask him to be permitted to leave the book with him (as it does not appear you are acquainted by whom it was left in your room) for the above reasons. I am, &c.

"E. JACKSON, Major 20th Regiment."

At this letter Captain Lutyens unwisely and un-

necessarily took offence, and he informed Major Jackson that "he conceived he had no authority to act in regard to his conduct at Longwood from his orders." The result was that he was superseded in his duties as orderly officer at Longwood, and Captain Crokat was appointed in his stead.

I cannot help thinking that Napoleon's kindly-meant present might, under all the circumstances, have been accepted, notwithstanding the style of Emperor was inscribed in the volumes. He did not send them as coming from "the Emperor," nor write the objectionable title in them; nor was there much likelihood of a British regiment being seduced from its allegiance by adding to its library a few books, the gift of Napoleon. It does not appear that he ever heard of the fate of his present; but if he had there is no doubt that he would have felt what had happened as a deliberate insult.

On quitting Longwood Captain Lutyens was addressed by Count Montholon, who said, "I have been desired by Napoleon to express to you his satisfaction at the attention which has been paid by you during your residence at Longwood; and am further requested to say that he hopes, if he recovers his health, he shall have the pleasure of seeing you."[1]

On the 16th Dr. Arnott reported to the Governor that Bonaparte was not so well; there appeared much prostration of strength, and his mind was much agitated. He told the doctor that he had lost all hopes of recovery, and anything he could do would be only palliative. Count Montholon also said to the orderly officer that he did not think Bonaparte would survive

[1] Captain Lutyens gave so much satisfaction to the French at Longwood, that after Bonaparte's death the Countess Bertrand sent him a piece of coral, with some of Napoleon's hair.

more than three or four weeks. He added that his strength appeared to have gone from his body to his head; he now recollected everything of former days; the stupor and forgetfulness had left him, and he was continually talking of what would take place at his death.

On the 28th the Governor wrote to Admiral Lambert and told him that Dr. Arnott had that morning informed him that Bonaparte had become considerably worse than he had ever seen him before, in consequence of repeated attacks of vomiting, and that his disorder bore a very serious aspect. Sir Hudson Lowe enclosed a copy of a note he had addressed to Count Montholon, in which he offered the instant attendance of any medical person on the island, and told him that he had before offered the services of Dr. Shortt, Physician to the Forces, and was sure that Admiral Lambert was equally ready to order the attendance of the principal medical officer of the navy; but should the services of any other medical men be required, their attendance would be immediately directed.

Next day Captain Crokat reported that, according to the statement of Count Montholon, Bonaparte had passed a very bad night and could not rest; he was constantly talking and quite delirious, and remained in that state until about 7 o'clock in the morning, when he fell into a sound sleep.

CHAPTER XXX.

DEATH OF NAPOLEON — HIS FUNERAL — HIS CHARACTER AND CONDUCT AT ST. HELENA.

AT midnight of the 30th of April Bonaparte was suddenly seized with chilliness; and became as cold as ice. His pulse was not perceptible, and he appeared as if he was being suffocated. In fact Dr. Antommarchi was sent for and thought he was dying. Dr. Arnott was sent for, and proceeded immediately to his bedside, but found him recovered from the attack, and in the same state as he had left him in the evening. His pulse was rather high, but it had been the same at half-past six, when Dr. Arnott had last seen him. The fits of vomiting were, however, less frequent. Count Montholon told Dr. Arnott that he had communicated the Governor's letter offering other medical advice to Bonaparte, who replied, "No! I know I am dying—I have confidence in the people already about me, and I do not wish others to be called in." Dr. Arnott now thought the case very alarming, especially owing to Bonaparte's refusal to take either food or medicine. He had pulled off the blister which had been applied to his stomach, before it could produce any material effect; and he had a fit of hiccuping during the night, which lasted about ten minutes.

On the evening of the 1st of May Dr. Arnott reported, "I can perceive no change in General Bonaparte since morning. He continues very low, and his strength is much sunk. I think he rather raves more than he did in the morning. He has called me Stokoe

sometimes. I have been here all day." As Drs. Arnott and Antommarchi differed in opinion as to a particular mode of treatment, to which, however, the objection of the latter was founded solely upon the disinclination of the patient to being disturbed, Sir Hudson Lowe made a last effort to induce the dying Exile to have additional medical advice, and on Thursday the 3rd of May he called on Count Montholon, accompanied by Dr. Arnott and Major Gorrequer, and said that, when there was a difference of opinion, it must be satisfactory to Dr. Antommarchi, and relieve him from a great deal of responsibility, to have the advice of other medical men; and in this case, where life or death was in question, he hoped the Count would do all in his power to have recourse to it.

Count Montholon replied he had that instant been consulting on that very point with Count Bertrand, and they had agreed that, as soon as ever Bonaparte fell into a state of unconsciousness, they would immediately apply for further assistance, but at that moment they dared not venture to introduce any other medical man into his room. "He had not," said Montholon, "lost his senses sufficiently for that, and they feared to propose it to him, lest it should produce a shock which might be dangerous in his present state." He added that he believed even Dr. Arnott would not think it prudent to have recourse at that moment to any measure of such a nature, considering the weakness of the patient. Dr. Arnott appearing to assent to this opinion, the Count proceeded to say that the instant it was perceived that Napoleon had lost his reason they would immediately apply for the aid of the medical men who the Governor had told them would be in readiness. Sir Hudson Lowe then

said that Drs. Shortt and Mitchell were ready to come at any time, but, in order that there might be no delay, he would cause them to be in attendance on the spot. He also mentioned that the Admiral had expressed an opinion that the moment Bonaparte lost his recollection would be a good opportunity for the other medical men to see him, and that he was desirous to assist by sending the chief medical officer of the navy.

The Count afterwards spoke of Bonaparte's collectedness of mind at one time, and his total loss of sense and recollection at another, and said that he persevered in rejecting everything that was offered to him, whether medicine or nourishment. He always shook his head, saying, "Non, non," in a grunting tone. He added that he had repeatedly endeavoured to make him consent to his calling in other medical advice, which the Governor offered, and on these occasions Napoleon asked, "*Mais est-ce que je suis mourant?*" to which he had replied that, although he was not absolutely in a dangerous state, it was a necessary precaution, and he therefore ought to have further medical aid; but he could not obtain Bonaparte's assent. His mind, said Montholon, was sometimes so deranged that he was lost to everything; for instance, on mentioning Dr. Shortt's name, and telling him that he was Dr. Baxter's successor, Napoleon asked, with much surprise, "What, is Dr. Baxter gone? that is very odd! I never knew anything of it! Why was it not mentioned to me before? What was the reason of his going away?" To this the Count said he answered that Dr. Baxter had been recalled,[1] and Dr. Shortt had come out in his place.

[1] Dr. Baxter had left the island a short time previously.

After this Napoleon continued for a long time talking about Dr. Baxter. At another time he inquired who was the medical person in attendance upon him, and, on Count Montholon's answering "Dr. Antommarchi," he repeated the name as if surprised, saying he did not know such a person, and asked, "Who is this Antommarchi? Is it not O'Meara who continues always to attend me?". He frequently did not know Dr. Arnott, and called him Stokoe.

Sometimes, however, continued the Count, he would suddenly be roused from this state—he became perfectly composed, and his recollection returned: "for example," added Montholon, "the day before yesterday, in the evening, he became all at once calm, and desired me to send everybody out of the room, and to take pen and paper; he then dictated to me a letter addressed to the Governor, which he directed me to forward the moment he expired." He also desired that after his decease the Count should show his will to the Governor if he wished to see it, and let him take a copy of it if he liked.

Speaking of the shock which anything unusual or unexpected now produced on Bonaparte, Montholon observed that even his seeing the Countess Bertrand had considerably affected his nerves; and the appearance of Bertrand himself, at hours when he was not formerly in the habit of attending upon him, made an impression on him. When he saw him he called out, "Comment! vous voilà ici, Bertrand? que voulez vous? qu'est-ce qui vous amène à cette heure?"

Count Montholon also mentioned that, about three or four nights before, Bonaparte had moved himself down towards the foot of the bed, and on his coming into the room he found him as if endeavouring to raise himself up. On his trying to assist him, he com-

plained of a pain in the stomach, and fell down. His eyes turned about in his head in a way which alarmed the Count very much, as he then lost his recollection. The same thing, he said, happened two or three evenings before, when he was assisting him to sit upon his bed, and placing pillows against his back to support him. He was no sooner seated than he extended his arms, and fell back with his eyes turning in his head.

The Governor expressed himself as very desirous that a trial of English medical science should be made, and said it would not be doing the medical officers there justice if they had not an opportunity afforded them of seeing what their skill and experience could effect in the case. He mentioned the extraordinary recovery of Captain Meynell of the navy, who was so dangerously ill at Plantation House that he was considered at the last extremity, and O'Meara, who had been called in, had pronounced him beyond the chance of recovery, but notwithstanding, through the skill of Drs. Baxter and Thompson, he was restored. Sir Hudson Lowe then said, "In short, M. le Comte, I am strongly desirous that English medical science should at all events have the chance of saving his life."

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon Dr. Antommarchi came to Major Gorrequer, who remained at Longwood, and expressed his desire to have a consultation in his own room with the medical persons proposed. He said that Bonaparte was dying, and he thought he would expire in the course of the day, though he might yet survive a little longer. Major Gorrequer immediately caused a signal to be made for Drs. Shortt and Mitchell to come to Longwood instantly, and soon afterwards they arrived there.

A consultation took place between them and the two doctors Arnott and Antommarchi, but they did not see Napoleon. They, however, prescribed some medicine, which had the desired effect and afforded temporary relief, but it was all in vain. Napoleon's mortal hour had come, and no effort of human skill could stay the hand of death.

While anxious to give all the details respecting the last moments of this extraordinary man, I feel that there are some of a medical nature which ought not to be made public. A knowledge of the minutiæ of illness is best confined to the nurse and the physician. We must respect the sanctity of the sick room, and throw a veil over the infirmities of poor suffering humanity. Before he strikes his last blow the King of Terrors tramples upon our pride, and the weakness of our mortal nature is shown at the deathbed of the greatest as well as of the meanest of the children of men.

A faint gleam of hope appears in the following report of Dr. Arnott, dated "Longwood, 4th May, 9 o'clock P.M.:"—"I have just left our patient fast asleep. He appears better than he was two hours ago. He has no hiccup, his respiration is easy, and in the course of the day he has taken a considerable quantity of nourishment for a person in his state."

But it was only the last flicker of the lamp of life. During the night of the 4th a fatal change took place; and when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Longwood early in the morning of Saturday, the 5th of May, he found the following note written in pencil by Dr. Arnott, and addressed to the orderly officer:—

"He is dying. Montholon prays I will not leave the bedside. He wishes I should see him breathe his last."

This was followed by other communications from

Dr. Arnott in rapid succession, which will be read with painful interest.

"The pulse cannot be felt at the wrist now, and the heat is departing from the surface. But he may hold out some hours yet."

"He is worse. The respiration is become more hurried and difficult."

"He has this moment expired."

This last note was received by Sir Hudson Lowe at six o'clock in the evening. Napoleon had ceased to breathe eleven minutes before that hour.[1]

While he was dying a violent hurricane swept over the island, which shook many of the houses to their foundations, and tore up some of the largest trees. As the tempest raged and howled, it seemed as if the spirit of the storm rode upon the blast to tell the world that—

"A mighty power had passed away
To breathless Nature's dark abyss."

And the warring elements without were an emblem of the thoughts that occupied the mind of the expiring Chief. They still turned to the strife of the battle-field, and with the words *Tête d'Armée* on his lips his spirit passed away for ever from dreams of earthly conquest to meet its Creator and its Judge.

Dr. Arnott remained in the room with the body during the night of the 5th, and early next morning Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Rear-Admiral

[1] During the last awful moments it is said that a crucifix was placed upon Napoleon's pillow, but I find no mention of the fact in the Lowe papers. It is to this supposed circumstance that Manzoni alludes in the following lines of his magnificent ode, 'Il Cinque Maggio:'—

"Il Dio che atterra e suscita,
Che affanna e che consola,
Sulla deserta coltrice
Accanto a lui posò."

Lambert, the Marquis de Montchenu, and several British officers, together with Mr. Brooke and Mr. Greentree, two of the Members of Council at St. Helena, proceeded to Longwood, and viewed the corpse of Napoleon, which lay with its face uncovered.[1] Afterwards an opportunity was afforded to various other persons—officers of the army and navy, and inhabitants of the island—to see the body as it lay dressed in uniform upon the bed.

"Well, gentlemen," said Sir Hudson Lowe to Major Gorrequer and Mr. Henry as they walked together before the door of Plantation House conversing on the character of the deceased, "he was England's greatest enemy, and mine too; but I forgive him everything. On the death of a great man like him, we should only feel deep concern and regret."[2]

In the afternoon the dissection took place according to Napoleon's own wish, who was anxious that his son might, if possible, be saved from an attack of the same malady. The body was opened by Antommarchi, in the presence of Counts Montholon and Bertrand, Sir Thomas Reade, Major Harrison, Captain Crokat (the orderly officer), Drs. Shortt, Arnott, Burton, Mitchell, Livingstone, Rutledge, and Henry, the Abbé Vignali, and the three servants, Marchand, St. Denis, and Pierron: and the report was signed by Drs. Shortt, Arnott, Mitchell, Burton, and Livingstone.

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[1] On the same day Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lady Holland, and informed her of the death of Napoleon. He said in his letter, "The compassionate interest which your Ladyship has so constantly and in so generous a manner shown towards the remarkable person who has been so long under my care, imposes it as a duty on me to take the earliest opportunity of informing you that he breathed his last yesterday evening, at about ten minutes before six o'clock."

[2] See Henry's 'Events of a Military Life,' vol. ii. p. 80.

The following are the most remarkable appearances that presented themselves at the autopsy:—

On a superficial view the body appeared to be very fat, which was confirmed on the first incision. The fat was upwards of an inch thick over the breast, and an inch and a half over the abdomen. The lungs were quite sound. The heart was of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat. Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach it was found the seat of extensive disease. Strong adhesions connected the whole upper surface, particularly about the pylorus (or pit of the stomach), with the concave surface of the left lobes of the liver; and on separating these an ulcer was discovered, which penetrated the coats of the stomach, one inch from the pylorus, sufficiently large to admit the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease, or schirrous portions advancing to cancer. This was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac extremity for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus was the only part which appeared in a healthy state, and the stomach was filled with a large quantity of fluids resembling coffee-grounds.

The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm, and the liver was perhaps a little larger than natural. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance was observed in the liver. This organ was, as might be expected, particularly examined, and the moment the operator took it out Dr. Shortt said it was enlarged; all the medical men present, however, differed from him, and Dr. Arnott said there was nothing extraordinary in the

appearance of the liver; it might probably be a large one, but certainly not larger than the liver of any man of the same age and size as Bonaparte. But Dr. Shortt still persisted in his opinion that it was enlarged. Sir Thomas Reade then observed, that they ought all to be prepared to give a decided opinion as to the real state of the liver, and all the doctors re-examined it and reiterated their former opinions. Dr. Antommarchi had the liver in his hand, and, having taken his knife and cut it open, he remarked, "It is good, and there is nothing extraordinary in its appearance, except that it is a large liver." After this Sir Thomas Reade desired Dr. Shortt to give directions for having the body closed, when Count Montholon came and took Sir Thomas aside, saying that it was the particular wish of Bonaparte that his heart should be preserved and sent to his wife, the Archduchess Maria Louisa. He was so earnest in his request, that Sir Thomas Reade consented to leave the heart separate from the body until a reference could be made to the Governor. It was accordingly put into a small silver cup, and given to the care of Assistant-Surgeon Rutledge of the 20th regiment, who was ordered to remain in charge of the body.

Sir Thomas Reade says in his report, — "The medical gentlemen immediately and unanimously expressed their conviction that the diseased state of the stomach was the sole cause of his death. The stomach was taken out and exhibited. Two-thirds of it appeared in a shocking state, covered with a cancerous substance."

Sir Hudson Lowe did not feel authorised to give up the heart to Count Montholon, but he directed that it should be placed in the coffin separate from the body, which was embalmed and dressed for interment in the

uniform of a colonel of *chasseurs* of the old guard. Dr. Rutledge has left an interesting memorandum of what occurred during his melancholy watch. He says,—

"The heart and stomach, which had been taken out of the body, were put in a silver vase by me, and I was directed by Sir Thomas Reade, according to the orders of the Governor, not to lose sight of either the body or the vase, to take care and not to admit of the cavities being opened a second time for the purpose of the removal of any part of the body, and not to allow the contents of the vase to be disturbed without an order from him to that effect. This was in consequence of the pressing solicitations of Madame Bertrand to be allowed to keep the heart, and to take it away with her when leaving the island.

"In the course of the evening Madame Bertrand informed me that, for the space of four years previous to Bonaparte's death, he had complained much of lancinating pain in the part affected, although his general health did not appear to be much impaired. Digestion was carried on tolerably well until within the last fifty days, from which time he had entertained serious apprehensions of his situation; that she had frequently heard him say, since their arrival on the island, that whenever he was either in very bad spirits or appeared to feel himself particularly indisposed he feared a disease in his stomach, and that, if this should so happen, he knew and felt convinced that he could not recover; said that it was a disease of this sort that his father as well as some other members of his family had died of, and that it was a stomach disease (scirrhosis) with which he was attacked; he knew that he was out of the reach of human aid. For the last few weeks he was in the habit of lounging a good deal on a sofa in the dining-room, and when the family

were at dinner would usually take a bit of meat underdone, and having chewed it would swallow the juice and put the masticated meat out of his mouth. Broths and jellies were his favourite nutriments. . . . . .

"7th. Madame Bertrand and Antommarchi have been unceasing in their importunities with me from almost the moment when the body, &c., were given into my charge yesterday; Madame B. trying her most persuasive powers to obtain the heart; and Antommarchi absolutely begging of me to give him up the stomach, in order, as he said, that he might be enabled to show to the relatives and friends of Bonaparte *that his death was caused by an incurable complaint*, and that no blame could be attached to him for the unsuccessful result of his treatment.

"Half-past seven o'clock in the afternoon I placed the heart in a silver vessel which I had prepared for the purpose, and, having filled it up with spirit of wine, closed the opening by placing a silver shilling (bearing the head of George III. on it) over the open part, and, having soldered it down, placed the stomach in a silver pepper-box, without any means of preventing the putrefactive process. These, together with a silver dinner-plate, knife, fork, and spoon, an ewer, twelve pieces of gold and three pieces of silver coins, and a plate bearing my address, as being the last British officer who had ever seen him, I put into the tin case wherein the body had been just laid, [and] saw the lid of this case soldered on, and the covering of a wooden case, which was outside the tin one, screwed down, and all placed in a leaden coffin, the cover of which I saw soldered on; sent my report of it to Sir Thomas Reade, as he had directed, and thus terminated my part of that duty. I afterwards accepted the invitation of Count Montholon and re-

tired with the family, or, I should rather have said, the Longwood party, to dinner, the whole period of which there was scarcely anything else spoken of excepting the diseased appearances of the stomach, each person making a particular observation on it, and all agreeing that Bonaparte had been for a long time preparing (*sic*) to expect his death from this cause."

So far from the liver having been the seat of disease and the cause of Napoleon's death, as all would have expected who gave credence to the statements of O'Meara, it is a very remarkable fact that *it was owing to that organ that life was preserved so long.* The liver acted as a kind of cork or stopper to the opening in the coat of the stomach formed by the ulcer, and prevented the escape of the contents of the stomach, which must have caused immediate death. This curious circumstance is mentioned by Dr. Shortt in a note addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 8th of May. He said,—"Had the edges of the ulcer which penetrated the coats of the stomach near the pylorus not firmly adhered to the liver, death would have taken place much sooner, as part of the contents of the stomach would have escaped into the abdomen."

Dr. Antommarchi, however, did not sign the report on the autopsy, and this became afterwards the subject of invidious remark. But the explanation is simply this: Dr. Shortt asked him to add his signature, as they were all unanimous in opinion; to which Antommarchi replied that he agreed perfectly with the British medical officers, but, as the report was written in a language which he did not understand, it might appear strange if he annexed his name to it. Dr. Shortt then offered to translate it for him into Italian, and Dr. Burton made the same offer of translating it into French; and he was told that, as

Count Bertrand understood English, he might satisfy him as to the fidelity of the translation. Dr. Antommarchi then had the report translated, with the correctness of which he was satisfied; but on asking Bertrand's advice as to what he should do, the Count objected to Antommarchi signing it, on the sole ground that in the report the deceased was not styled the Emperor Napoleon, and he would never consent that any attendant of Napoleon should sign a document in which he was not recognized by the imperial title.[1]

The real reason of Bertrand's objection no doubt was, the complete contradiction given by the report to the theory that the seat of disease was the liver. This had been the hypothesis of O'Meara and Antommarchi himself, and it was one which conveniently enabled the unscrupulous partisans of Napoleon to attribute his illness and death to the influence of the climate of St. Helena. Antommarchi in his book took care to countenance this untruth. He says, "The liver, *which was affected by chronic hepatitis*, closely adhered by its convex surface to the diaphragm; the adhesion occupied the whole extent of that organ, and was strong, cellular, and of long existence."

It is however satisfactory to be able to prove that the French officers who were the companions of Napoleon in his exile were entirely convinced that cancer of the stomach was the sole cause of his death. So anxious was Madame Bertrand to ascertain the nature of the disease, that she placed her finger in the cavity eaten out by the ulcer, and Count Bertrand, in two letters written by him on the 6th of May, the one to his brother, and the other to Cardinal Fesch, ex-

[1] The above account is taken from a letter from Dr. Burton to Mr. Goulburn, dated August 13, 1821.

plicitly stated this without the slightest reserve or qualification.[1] And Count Montholon also expressed the same opinion. Indeed, the case does not admit of a shadow of doubt; nor would it have been necessary to confirm what is as clear as noonday were it not for the inveterate misrepresentation which has distorted almost everything connected with Napoleon's captivity.

Mr. Henry, who assisted at the dissection of the corpse, says that the face had a remarkably placid expression, and indicated mildness and sweetness of disposition. Those who gazed on the features, as they lay in the still repose of death, could not help exclaiming, "How beautiful!" The head was so large as to be disproportioned to the rest of the body, and the forehead was very broad and full.[2] The skin was particularly white and delicate, and, notwithstanding the accumulation of external fat, the whole frame was slender and effeminate. There was scarcely any hair on the body, and that of the head was thin, fine, and silky. On the left leg, near the ankle, was a scar, which appeared to have been occasioned by a wound.

When the coffin was finally closed it was placed upon the bed, and mass was performed in the room.[3]

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[1] "Il parait qu'il est mort de la même maladie que son père, d'un squirre au pilor; dans les derniers tems de sa longue maladie il en avait soupçonné la cause."—*Extract of letter from Count Bertrand to Cardinal Fesch.*

[2] It may interest phrenologists to know that the organs of combativeness, causativeness, and philoprogenitiveness, were strongly developed in the cranium.

[3] At the end of the second volume of O'Meara's 'Voice' (fifth edition) there is a statement signed by Count Montholon to the effect that he wished the following inscription to be placed on Napoleon's coffin:—

"NAPOLÉON.
Né à Ajaccio le 15 Août, 1769.
Mort à Ste. Hélène le 5 Mai, 1821"

—but

On the 9th of May the funeral took place. After a funeral service had been read over the corpse according to the rites of the Roman Catholic religion, in a small chapel fitted up for the occasion at Longwood, it was carried by a party of grenadiers of the regiment which had last done duty in guarding Napoleon to a funeral car drawn by four of his own carriage horses. The horse he usually rode followed in the rear fully caparisoned. His sword, and a mantle which he had worn at the battle of Marengo, were placed on the coffin. The funeral car was followed by the persons who composed his family at St. Helena as chief mourners, and by the principal officers, civil, naval, and military, on the island, including the Governor, and the Commissioner of the King of France, and the procession passed slowly along the line of troops which extended from the entrance to Longwood nearly half way to the place of interment. The troops remained with their arms reversed, the several bands playing a funeral dirge until the mournful cortège had passed; and when it had reached the extremity of the line they filed off from their position, and followed in the rear. On arriving at that part of the road where the path descended towards the place of burial, the body was removed from the funeral car, and borne alternately by the grenadiers of the several

—but that the Governor objected on the ground that his instructions would not allow him to sanction any other name being placed on the coffin than that of "General Bonaparte." When this statement appeared, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Montholon himself, and said, "Having a perfect recollection of the only objection I had, I beg leave to refer to it. When informed it was your desire to have the words 'Napoléon, né à Ajaccio,' &c. inscribed, I signified that I should have no objection, provided the word 'Bonaparte' was added to that of 'Napoléon,' and that the inscription stood 'Napoléon Bonaparte.' To the addition of the word 'Bonaparte' to that of 'Napoléon' you saw motives of objection which I did not seek to discuss, and thus no inscription whatever was placed."

corps doing duty on the island, including a party of the royal marines, to the spot where the last service was to be performed. The procession had moved on horseback until it reached this place, where the whole of the persons attending dismounted, and the pall was then borne to the grave by the principal attendants of Napoleon.

In a letter to Lord Bathurst Sir Hudson Lowe said,—"I shall cause railing to be put round the whole of the ground, it being necessary even for the preservation of the willows, many sprigs of which have already begun to be taken by different individuals who went down to visit the place after the corpse was interred." This is the incident which Antommarchi has so ridiculously distorted. He says, in his 'Last Moments of Napoleon,' "Hudson and the Admiral, displeased at this spontaneous manifestation of feeling, endeavoured to check it by anger and threats; but this had no other effect than that of increasing the activity of the assailants, and the willows were entirely stripped as high as the hand could reach. Hudson was pale with rage; but the guilty were numerous and of all classes of people, and he could not therefore punish. He, however, took his revenge by prohibiting all approach to the grave, which he surrounded by a barrier." The stupid malignity of this passage carries with it its own refutation, and it is by no means an unfair specimen of the spirit and tone of the whole work.

The ground selected for the place of burial had been previously consecrated, and the spot was one which had been pointed out to Sir Hudson Lowe as that in which Bonaparte himself had expressed a desire to be buried if his remains were left in the island of St. Helena. It was situated in a garden in the middle of a deep

ravine, under the shade of two willow-trees, close to a small fountain, from which water had been brought daily for his use in two silver bottles of his own. The Abbé Vignali performed the last funeral rite, and when the corpse was lowered into the earth three volleys of musketry and discharges of cannon fired over the grave thundered the requiem of Napoleon.

All that now remained to be done was to peruse the will, and make an inventory of the effects of the deceased. The Governor went to Longwood on the 12th for that purpose, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer. He there met Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and in their presence he examined the papers and other property.

On the table were two gold snuff-boxes, one of which had a large cameo, on which was engraved a goat nibbling at a vine-stalk, with a Faun upon its back. Sir Hudson Lowe was struck with the beauty of the workmanship, and opening the lid he observed at the bottom a small card with the following words upon it written in Bonaparte's own hand:—"L'Empereur Napoléon à Lady Holland; témoignage de satisfaction et d'estime."[1]

A great portion of the papers consisted of notes dictated by Bonaparte on the subject of his own campaigns; there were also several memoranda in his handwriting, and slips of paper containing directions in pencil to Count Montholon to make researches in various publications, and collect materials for the

[1] On the back of the card was written, in another hand, "Donné par le Pape Pie VII., à Tolentino, 1797." To mark his acknowledgment of Dr. Arnott's services, Bonaparte directed that the other gold snuff-box, upon which he had himself carved the letter N., and also a sum of 600 napoleons (500*l.*), should be presented to him. Dr. Arnott afterwards received an additional sum of 500*l.* from the English Government.

work on which Napoleon was then engaged. Amongst the papers was an account of the battle of Waterloo, written out fair, the rough draft of which had been taken away by General Gourgaud. After the Governor had left the house, Count Montholon called back Major Gorrequer to ask him a question, and he then mentioned that he had been searching for a note dictated to him by Napoleon a long time previously, and which he was sorry he could not find, as it was an *eulogium on the Duke of Wellington*, in which Napoleon had spoken in the highest terms of praise of the military conduct of the Duke.

But in unhappy contrast to this generous appreciation of his great antagonist must be mentioned the deplorable fact that Napoleon bequeathed in his will a sum of money to Cantillon, the miscreant who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Wellington in Paris, and who, although acquitted by the jury who tried him, was undoubtedly guilty.[1]

It is far more pleasing to be able to mention that Napoleon on his deathbed earnestly begged Count Bertrand to use every means in his power, consistent with his honour, to effect a reconciliation with Sir Hudson Lowe, saying that he hoped he would succeed, as he himself alone had been the cause of the dif-

[1] By the fourth codicil to his will Napoleon left the following legacy:—
"5° *Item.* (10,000) dix mille francs au sous-officier Cantillon, qui a essuyé un procès comme prévenu d'avoir vouler assassiner Lord Wellington, ce dont il a été déclaré innocent. Cantillon avait autant de droit d'assassiner cet oligarque, que celui-ci de m'envoyer pour périr sur le rocher de Sainte Hélène. Wellington, qui a proposé cet attentat, cherchait à le justifier sur l'intérêt de la Grande Bretagne. Cantillon, si vraiment il eût assassiné le Lord, se serait couvert et aurait été justifié par les mêmes motifs, l'intérêt de France, de se défaire d'un général qui d'ailleurs avait violé la Capitulation de Paris, et par là s'était rendu responsable du sang des martyrs Ney, Labédoyère, etc. etc., et du crime d'avoir dépouillé les musées contre le texte des traités."

ferences between them. This was at all events stated by Madame Bertrand to Admiral Lambert, and she added that her husband was very desirous to fulfil Napoleon's dying wish. When this was made known to the Governor, he instantly determined to bury the past conduct of Bertrand in oblivion, and gladly accepted the proffered reconciliation. Both the French Counts called at Plantation House together on the 12th, and were there courteously received by the Governor.

Let us now pause for a moment and endeavour to analyse our conception of the character of Napoleon. It is with diffidence that a writer should attempt to describe the moral lineaments of one who was so little like ordinary men. If we apply to him the terse and nervous language of the Roman historian when he speaks of Agricola, I fear we must invert the order of the passage and say, *magnum virum facile crederes, bonum libenter.* What eulogy can be thought exaggerated when we speak of the powers of his intellect, which flashed like lightning upon every subject that it touched, and illuminated it with the ray of transcendant genius? Abler pens than mine have recorded, and others in future ages will continue to record, the actions that emanated from the solitary workings of that capacious mind. They have told and will tell how he bowed Europe beneath the yoke of his single will, and accepted homage from the proudest monarchs of the Continent. And if he was great as a conqueror, he was also great as a legislator. Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena may in the course of years be forgotten, or remembered only, like Marathon and Arbela, as the subjects of a schoolboy theme. To use the beautiful illustration of Canning, the spires and turrets of institutions which he swept away in the deluge of war may, by re-appearing above the surface,

efface the memory of the changes which for a time he wrought in the polity of nations; but he will still, as he himself in the spirit of prophecy asserted, go down to posterity with his Code in his hand. The numerous memoirs written of him give abundant proof of the intuitive sagacity with which he saw the bearings of questions the most complicated, and solved problems in government the most abstruse. At times, no doubt, he was mistaken, as, for instance, in his views of the economy of national wealth; but his mistakes were rather those of the age in which he lived than of the man. In captivity as well as on the throne his will still exercised its regal sway over the minds of others, and those to whom he thought fit to be gracious retired from his presence fascinated by his manner and dazzled by his discourse.

But, alas! these volumes present a different and darker side of the picture.

"Fu vera gloria? ai posteri
L'ardua sentenza."

The soul that could grasp and almost realize the idea of universal empire was unequal to the task of bearing adversity with dignity or even resignation. I speak not here of the want of the sublime consolations of religion, which can alone give true support in the hour of trial, for to these Napoleon was unhappily insensible; but a heathen philosopher would have mourned or smiled, as his mood might be, to see how the lion fretted in his toils. The captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena illustrates the greatness and the littleness of man. He might have exhibited on that island rock a moral grandeur which would have eclipsed the splendour of his imperial crown. But he knew not how to submit to his inevitable fate, and, in the words of Lamartine, he contended with

adversity as if it had been a human offence, instead of recognising and being resigned to it as the merciful sovereignty of God. In that unequal and miserable struggle he condescended to resort to the most paltry tricks in order to try and make men believe that he was the victim of malice and the martyr of persecution.

He seems to have been unfortunate in the choice of his companions in exile, who had not the firmness to resist the commands which he laid upon them, even when they felt that those commands were wrong. They were the slaves and puppets of his imperious will, and appear to have imagined that the servility of their obedience to him absolved them from the obligation of every other duty. It is impossible not to admire the chivalrous devotion with which they volunteered to share the captivity of their master; and every allowance ought to be made for the affection which blinded them to his faults. Love thinketh no evil; and they regarded him with an attachment which almost amounted to idolatry. They therefore not unnaturally considered the restrictions which curtailed his liberty—and against which he chafed with so much impatience—as harsh and severe. It was with feelings of wounded pride and humiliation that they saw him whom they had known as the Emperor of France and lord of millions watched by sentries, and compelled to submit to the inspection of an English general officer every note which he might write or dictate. But they stooped to acts unworthy of their reputation, and became willing accomplices in a system of trickery and deceit. An honourable exception must however be made in the case of General Gourgaud, whose conduct throughout the whole period of his stay at St. Helena was honest and straightforward. The least complaining of all the party at Longwood, he found for that very

reason little sympathy from his companions; and at last, unable to bear the state of isolation in which he was placed, he was driven to ask permission to return to Europe.

But respecting the others we may quote as strictly applicable to them what Sir Hudson Lowe has said in a manuscript found amongst his papers:—"Two points must be attended to in their condition: first, they were the instruments which Bonaparte used to exasperate the character of his captivity by extorting some act of harshness from those who were concerned in his security; and secondly, they had miscalculated the enduring power of affection and the strength of mind necessary to support long years of monotonous existence, of which their own death was as likely to be the termination as that of their master."

Las Cases was a man who possessed a quick and versatile intellect and considerable literary attainments, but his mind was tortuous and he had little regard for truth. He had, as an eloquent French writer has said of him, the servility of a domestic and the blindness of a devotee. Montholon was emphatically weak, and the mere creature of Napoleon, who perfectly understood, and, as we have seen, more than once expressed, how little reliance could be placed upon his veracity. And yet he was undoubtedly an amiable and plausible man, and, under different circumstances and less strong temptation, might have won from us a gentle and favourable judgment. Glad should I be, if truth allowed it, to echo the praise which has more especially been bestowed by writers upon Bertrand, whom Sir Archibald Alison calls "the noble-hearted Bertrand." Mr. Henry, who knew him well at St. Helena, says,[1] "I believe that Marshal

[1] Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 92.

Bertrand was the most honest and honourable man of the Longwood establishment, perhaps of the whole Court of Napoleon; and, *on all other subjects than those immediately relating to the Emperor's interests*, of unimpeachable veracity." But this is something like a contradiction in terms. How can a man be called honest and honourable, or be said to have any reverence for truth, who is prepared to sacrifice it at the bidding of another? The large exception here made destroys Bertrand's claim to be regarded as a person of veracity. The habit of falsehood with reference to one subject or class of subjects is incompatible with the idea of straightforward honesty of character. No sane man tells untruths without a motive, and, if the motive be admitted as an excuse, who deserves punishment for falsehood? "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" is a command without qualification or exception, and Count Bertrand never hesitated to bear false witness against Sir Hudson Lowe whenever he thought the interests of Napoleon required it. Besides this, he was, if we may believe the testimony of Count Montholon, the chief obstacle in the way of more amicable relations between Napoleon and the Governor—as though the former were not sufficiently inclined to find fault unless instigated by his followers. He did nothing but mischief when he sought to urge on his master to continued and undignified resistance by appealing to his pride, as we know he did appeal, exclaiming, "Mais, Sire, votre nom, votre gloire!" Neither the Emperor nor the Marshal had a true conception of the dignity of misfortune, and the name and glory of Napoleon were only tarnished by giving heed to such advice. But it may well be doubted whether he would have tolerated as his attendants men more truthful and inde-

pendent. Such would not have aided him in his ignoble contest with the Governor, when like a peevish child he shut himself up in gloomy seclusion, and injured his own health in order if possible to bring odium upon Sir Hudson Lowe. Charitably, indeed, we ought to judge of the conduct of a man who had fallen from such a dizzy height of power. Often and often must he have stood with his arms folded on his breast and allowed his thoughts to wander back to the palace where his word was law, or the battle-field where the thunder does not more swiftly follow the lightning than execution waited on his command,—until the present must have seemed a dream, and the past the only reality.

"Oh! quante volte al tacito
Morir d' un giorno inerte,
Chinati i rai fulminei,
Le braccia al seno conserte
Stette, e dei di che furono
L'assalse il sovvenir!"

And then, when suddenly awakened from that dream—"afflicted and drunken, but not with wine"—his mind may well have reeled under the contrast, and for the time have lost all control over itself.

But while this may be urged in excuse for the ebullitions of caprice, facts must not be distorted in his favour. To conceal or disguise the truth in order to soften features that are disagreeable is no part of the duty of a biographer or historian. A painter may if he pleases flatter the vanity of a one-eyed sitter by drawing him in profile, but a writer who is in any degree responsible for forming the opinions of others as to a man's character must exhibit it in its weakness as well as in its strength. He must tell the *whole* truth, or he misleads his readers. And, if this is right under any circumstances, especially is it so where

the reputation of another is at stake. If Napoleon behaved in exile with the dignity and fortitude which his worshippers pretend, and Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct was such as they ascribe to him, then indeed the Governor was the tyrant, and the prisoner the victim. But the very reverse of this was the case. Napoleon outraged Sir Hudson Lowe with every species of insult. His constant habit was to speak of him in epithets which no gentleman can hear applied to himself without his blood tingling in his veins. His object throughout seems to have been to provoke and foster a quarrel, in hopes of having some tangible cause of offence to complain of. We have seen that he expressed disappointment and vexation that he could not make the Governor angry. The imperturbable temper of the latter, imperturbable at least towards his prisoner, was a rock against which the wave of his passion expended itself in vain. That brain, on whose tissues at one time hung the diplomacy of Europe, busied itself at St. Helena in schemes of which the immediate purpose was to mortify and annoy Sir Hudson Lowe. On one occasion, when by a stratagem of Montholon he obtained a copy of a note addressed by the Governor to the Marquis de Montchenu, he was, we are told, joyful as on a day of victory. Alas! how was the mighty fallen! His complaints of ill-treatment were loud but insincere, and were dictated, not by suffering, but by policy. I do not believe that Napoleon seriously contemplated as a possibility clandestine escape, for no man had a clearer or more just discernment when decision was necessary, and he knew that his island prison was too well guarded to render any plan of evasion practicable. But he never ceased to cherish the hope that he would be allowed to return

to Europe. He thought a change of ministry in England might effect this, for, ignorant of the latitude of attack in which political parties amongst ourselves indulge, he naturally built much upon the language of the opposition. If Lord Holland became Prime Minister, it seemed an inevitable consequence that Napoleon must be free. But interest in his fate might die away if it were not kept alive by sympathy and compassion. If he declared himself satisfied with his treatment, there would be little to expect from the zeal of partisans in his behalf. "At one time," says Sir Hudson Lowe, "I had hoped that I might help him to support his great reverse of fortune, but I soon discovered that his first and strongest wish was to aggravate and heighten the grievances of his situation, and that the greatest unkindness I could be guilty of was to leave him no cause of complaint." Therefore it was that the cry of suffering arose at St. Helena, and was carried across the Atlantic, to be echoed by rumour with her thousand tongues, until men began really to believe that the illustrious prisoner was treated with causeless and disgraceful severity.

No one can study the character of Napoleon without being struck by one prevailing feature,—his intense selfishness. This was caused partly no doubt by the unparalleled success which had for twenty years attended his career, and which made him look upon himself as a being born under a star, and as one whose destiny it was to rule, while it was the destiny of others to obey. Under the chariot-wheels of his ambition he was ready to crush everything that opposed his path, without compunction or remorse. He regarded others merely as instruments to be used by him, and to be flung aside when he had no longer occasion for them. A memorable example of this occurs

in his treatment of the noble-minded Josephine. Because she gave no promise of an heir to the throne he snapped the cord of affection in a moment. The ties of duty and of love were nothing in his eyes when he found that his wish for a son was not likely to be gratified. How little feeling did he show when he heard of the death on the battle-field of any of the Generals and Marshals to whom he seemed to be most attached! Indeed, as has been already mentioned, he said of himself that his soul was of marble, and it was thus insensible to some of the finest feelings of our nature. Not that Napoleon was without gentleness and even playfulness in his disposition. When pleased and unopposed there was a charming vivacity in his manner which irresistibly won all hearts. He was fond of *espièglerie* even with grown-up people, and in the case of children, who were always favourites with him, there was no limit to his good humour. But he could not brook contradiction or opposition, and had not the slightest consideration for others when they stood in the way of his caprice. He was the sun round which others were to revolve, but though attracted by his influence they were kept at too great a distance to feel the warmth of his friendship or affection. Each of them might say with Helena—

> "In his bright radiance and collateral light
> Must I be comforted, not in his sphere."

Another feature in the character of Bonaparte which must not be lost sight of, and which has an important bearing upon the question of his treatment at St. Helena, was his habitual disregard of truth. His moral sense was so blunted that he had no scruple in resorting to deceit, and if necessary to falsehood, if he could thereby accomplish an object in view. It

has been said of him by a French writer, with sarcastic severity,[1] that he was in the *Moniteur* the first journalist of the Empire, and that he kept what he won with his pen much longer than what he won with his sword. He there gave himself an unbounded licence of invention, and made events assume whatever complexion he pleased, taking care that it was such as harmonized with his projects, and flattered the vanity of the French nation. It was thus that the victories of Wellington in the Peninsula were ignored, and after terrible reverses France was told that the English would have been crushed by Napoleon, if he had thought that the proper moment for the catastrophe had arrived.

At St. Helena he gave full scope to this propensity. The letters which he there dictated to his obsequious followers, and which have made such an impression on the public mind, are filled with glaring misstatements of facts. They may be called the bulletins of his exile, which were intended to deceive the people of Europe, as the bulletins of his battles were intended to deceive the French. Even Bertrand was ashamed of them, and more than once disowned the responsibility of their authorship, although he submitted to the humiliation of writing them, and subscribed them with his name. "That monologue of six years," says Lamartine,[2] "which he addressed to the world from the summit of his rock, and the most trivial words of which were registered by his courtiers to be transmitted to his myrmidons as the gospel of party, was nothing more than a long diplomatic note, void of

[1] See Jules Maurel's 'Wellington,' a remarkable sketch, written in a spirit of generous appreciation of the qualities of our great hero which is deserving of all praise.

[2] Histoire de la Restauration.

good faith, addressed to his partisans, and speaking in turns the language of all the factions that he wished to nourish with his memory, instead of being the disinterested, sincere, and religious effusion of a soul which bequeaths with its greatness, its failings, its truth, and its repentance to the world."

Can we then be so infatuated with hero-worship, so dazzled by the splendour of intellectual gifts, as to allow ourselves to treat gently and speak lightly of this contempt of veracity, this disdain of the first and simplest requirement of the moral law? No more pernicious lesson can be taught than the doctrine that success, which elevates a man to the pinnacle of power, absolves him from the obligation to observe the imperishable distinction between right and wrong. And we do in effect teach that doctrine when we forbear to censure in Napoleon Bonaparte a want of truth, which we should condemn in another as a meanness and a disgrace.

When we turn from his character to his actions, and ask in what respect he benefited mankind, the answer is most unsatisfactory. Perhaps no man ever for the sake of his own restless ambition inflicted so much positive misery upon his species. His path was that of the destroyer. Kingdoms were trodden down under the iron heel of conquest, and wherever he appeared with his armies blood was poured upon the ground like water. A fierce soldiery was let loose upon the countries of Europe, which spoiled the inhabitants, ravaged the fields, and swept away as with a whirlwind the accumulations of years of industry and peace. A military despotism on a scale of unparalleled magnitude was established, which abrogated all political rights and strove to trample out all national distinctions. If the sorrows

of a single hero or heroine in a tale of fiction can move our hearts and powerfully awake our sympathies, let us think for a moment on the amount of human suffering caused by the career of Napoleon. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the land was as the Garden of Eden before him, and behind him a desolate wilderness. Tears did not fail to flow for each homestead burned, each family outraged, each peasant and each soldier slain, in that long series of years during which he ruled the destinies of France. And what did France gain under his sway? A code of laws which is his best title to her gratitude, and that which she values more—military glory. But at what a price was that glory purchased! The bravest and the best of her sons died in distant fields of battle, amidst the sands of Egypt or the snows of Russia. A ruthless conscription depopulated the villages, and at last reached, in its downward course, youths who were just emerging into manhood, but who were still rather boys than men. Her treasure was exhausted, her liberties were gone. A system of *espionnage* betrayed family secrets to the minister of police, whose agents were everywhere, and whose omnipresence no one could escape. And at last came bitter retribution for the long-continued and daring attempt against the rights of nations. Her soil was invaded, her capital was taken; and Pandours and Cossacks bivouacked in the Champ-de-Mars, while English soldiers kept guard at the Louvre, and foreign bayonets brought back the King whom she had driven into exile and proclaimed an outlaw.

Of his merits as a great Captain we need not speak. Such a World-Conqueror will perhaps never be seen again. But we may hope the time is coming, if, indeed, it has not already come, when men will sit in

stern judgment upon those who without adequate and just cause, and for the sake of their own aggrandizement, involve nations in strife. War is in itself an unmitigated curse. It is indeed the abomination of desolation. It may impose upon the imagination with all its proud pomp and circumstance, and few sights can be conceived of more thrilling interest than the march of a great army in compact array. But follow that army to the battle-field. See it after the shock of conflict, when the clash of swords is over and the artillery has ceased to thunder. Listen to the cries of the wounded and the groans of the dying: follow the surgeon, and observe what *his* mission is when the battle is won, and acres of God's fair earth are strewed with corpses and converted into a vast charnel-house. And what sorrow accompanies the tidings of every victory! The child is fatherless, and the wife a widow, and the wail of mourning for those who have fallen mingles with the shout with which the nation exults in its success. War may be a necessity in defence of outraged rights, and to repel aggression, but it ought ever to be looked upon as a miserable calamity, and he who wantonly provokes it is one of the worst enemies of his race. No man ever felt this more strongly than Wellington. No great commander was more anxious to avert the horrors of war. He said that the most dreadful thing next to a battle lost was a battle won; and it is one of his best titles to the gratitude of Europe that he always fought for peace.

But who can say this of Napoleon? His whole public life was one series of acts of hostile aggression, and we do not find it recorded that he ever betrayed compunction or expressed remorse for the loss of the countless thousands whom his ambition caused to perish by the cannon and the sword.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONCLUSION OF THE MEMOIR OF SIR HUDSON LOWE.

ON the 27th of May, 1821, the Camel store-ship sailed from St. Helena, having on board Count and Countess Bertrand and their children, Count Montholon, Dr. Antommarchi, the Abbé Vignali, and the servants of the Longwood establishment. Mr. Henry, who accompanied the party, says that during the voyage no complaint whatever was made by any of them of the deportment of Sir Hudson Lowe towards them during their exile.[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe sailed from St. Helena with his family and suite on the 25th of July, but before he quitted the island he had the gratification of receiving the following address from the inhabitants:—

"Sir,

"As your Excellency is upon the eve of resigning your authority on this island, we the undersigned inhabitants cannot be suspected of views of an interested nature in respectfully offering our most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for the consideration, justice, impartiality, and moderation which have distinguished your government.

"A prominent measure of your Excellency's was a proposal which might have been expected to have been unpopular in a colony where slavery had long been recognised: yet, Sir, it met with the instanta-

[1] Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 60.

neous and unanimous approbation of the inhabitants; a result which affords no slight proof of our entire confidence in your concern for our welfare.

"Under the existence of such ties between the governor and governed, and your marked discountenance of any rising indication of party spirit, it is easy to account for the tranquillity and comfort we have enjoyed during your Excellency's residence amongst us.

"Finding we cannot have the happiness of the continuation of your Excellency's government, we beg you will accept the assurances of our sincere, respectful, and affectionate wishes for the health and prosperity of your Excellency, and of every member of your family."

Before Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in England, Lord Bathurst had written a despatch in which he conveyed to him the King's marked approbation of his conduct during the whole period of his government at St. Helena. After mentioning that he had received his letters announcing Bonaparte's death, Lord Bathurst said,—

"I am happy to assure you that your conduct, as detailed in those despatches, has received His Majesty's approbation. It is most satisfactory to His Majesty to observe that no measures were omitted by you for the purpose of placing at General Buonaparte's disposal the best medical advice, and of affording every relief and alleviation of his sufferings during the latter period of his life of which his state admitted. After the discussions which have taken place between yourself and General Buonaparte's attendants, it is no inconsiderable gratification to observe that, if your offers of service and assistance were latterly declined,

the refusal to accept them seems to have arisen, not from any unwillingness on the part of General Buonaparte to do justice to your motives, but from the satisfaction which he expressed himself to feel in the talents and conduct of the medical officer who had been already selected to attend upon him.

"His Majesty has further commanded me to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat that general approbation of your conduct during the time that you have administered the government of St. Helena, which I have on particular occasions had so often the pleasure of conveying. Placed as you have been in a situation which must, under any circumstances, have been one of heavy responsibility, but which particular events contributed to render yet more difficult and invidious, you discharged your arduous trust with strict fidelity, discretion, and humanity, and have effectually reconciled the two main duties of your command, combining the secure detention of General Buonaparte's person, which was of necessity the paramount object of your attention, with every practicable consideration and indulgence which your own disposition prompted and your instructions authorized you to show to his peculiar situation."

Sir Hudson Lowe was presented to the King on the 14th of November, and, being about to kiss His Majesty's hand, the King took hold of his and shook it heartily, saying, "I congratulate you most sincerely upon your return, after a trial the most arduous and exemplary that perhaps any man ever had. I have felt for your situation, and may appeal to Lord Bathurst how frequently I have talked to him about you." Sir Hudson Lowe, describing the interview in a letter to a friend, says, "He took my hand a second time, and again repeated his congratulations on the exem-

plary manner in which I had fulfilled my duties, turning at the time to all the Ministers who were present, as if to impress his own sentiments upon them." And soon after Sir Hudson Lowe had the gratification of receiving a convincing proof of the approval of Government of his conduct, by being appointed to the first vacant colonelcy of a regiment (the 93rd) that occurred after his return to England. This was an honourable distinction, to which his long and arduous services well entitled him.

But evil days were now before him. The partisans of Bonaparte could not forgive the man who had had the guardianship of his person, and for six long years discharged the duties of his trust with such firmness and fidelity.[1] The floodgates of abuse were opened against him, and he had to endure insinuations and attacks the most painful to an honourable mind. Nor was it only these that annoyed him. As he said himself, in a private letter written in July, 1823, to Mr. Wilmot Horton, "It is not, however, of those who were Bonaparte's professed admirers that I have alone had reason to complain. They have, it is true, given ear to every calumny against me; they have acted as if they had been all true; they have given every support to the inventors; they have cast forth their own insinuations to rankle in the public mind; and they have not dared, as I said from the first they would not, to commit their own reputation by publicly bringing forward any one thing against me." But what pained him more was the coldness and apathy of those to whom he felt he was entitled

[1] One day in November, 1822, young Las Cases, who was then in London, assaulted Sir Hudson Lowe in the street, and afterwards sent him a challenge, which Sir Hudson had the good sense and moral courage to treat with the contempt it deserved.

to look for encouragement and support. Let no man, however, rely too confidently upon this, whose only claim to it is the consciousness that he has done his duty. This does not inspire enthusiasm in others, nor cause friends to cluster round the object of calumny and reproach. But it cannot, I think, be denied that the English Government ought to have aided Sir Hudson Lowe more heartily and effectually than they did.

In July, 1822, O'Meara published his work called 'Napoleon in Exile, or a Voice from St. Helena;' and the sensation it excited is well described in the following passage of a memorial addressed to Lord Liverpool by Sir Hudson Lowe:—"Public curiosity flew with eagerness to the repast: nothing was wanting to satisfy the cravings of the most credulous, the most inquisitive, or the most malignant mind. The highest authorities were not spared; but *I* was destined to be the real victim, upon whom the public indignation was to fall."

He lost no time in placing himself in communication with Lord Bathurst, and the result was a determination to appeal to the law for redress.

He retained the Solicitor-General Sir John Copley (now Lord Lyndhurst), and Mr. Tindal (the late Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, than whom England cannot boast of a more profound or accomplished lawyer), and he laid his case before the former in the month of August. In November he received the joint opinion of these eminent counsel, in which he was advised to make a selection of the most obnoxious and libellous passages in O'Meara's volumes, with the view of applying to the court for a criminal information. This was a task "the difficulty of which," says Sir Hudson Lowe, "was afterwards

most fully acknowledged to me by Mr. Tindal himself, from the peculiar art with which the work was composed, and from the studied care taken to avoid any direct accusation in points where any living testimony could be referred to."

And he adds,—

"Truth and falsehood were so artfully blended together in the work, and the latter so cunningly interwoven with the former, in order to secure the effect of giving a complete false colour to every act of mine, and to impress upon the mind of the unsuspecting or careless reader almost the direct reverse in every case of what had been the real fact, that a great length of explanation became necessary, in order to disentangle all the meshes of the plot, which had thus been so artificially woven to accomplish the ruin of my public and private character."

Time, however, was of the last importance in this case, although Sir Hudson was not aware of it. He says,—"During the nearly four months that my papers had been with the Solicitor-General, I never became informed by him,—I never received the slightest hint or caution from him, or from any other human being,—I had never understood, I never suspected, that I should be limited to any particular week, or day, for commencing the prosecution against the author of a work who had been preparing his calumnious attacks against me *for six years before*."

In order to entitle himself to a rule for a criminal information, it was necessary for Sir Hudson Lowe to prepare a voluminous affidavit, denying the truth of the allegations of which he complained, and the difficulty of doing this arose from the artful malignity with which the book was composed. To use his own

words,—"After a most attentive perusal and examination of the thousand pages of the work, and having selected those passages which did appear to me to admit of the least dubious construction, and having attempted to qualify others by the introduction of such explanations as I thought it proper to employ, in order not to trifle with the sanctity of an oath, I was told I must deny the whole of such passages in an unqualified manner, or omit them altogether; and I was thus compelled to abandon many of those which were the most artfully wrought, and contained the most calumnious falsehoods against me, *or to content myself with denying in a general, but not less formal manner, the imputations they were intended to convey.*"

It was not until the latter end of Hilary Term, 1823, that the rule was applied for, and in the mean time such had been the avidity with which the public perused the 'Voice from St. Helena,' that a fifth edition had already then appeared. When the Solicitor-General rose to move for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be granted against Barry Edward O'Meara for the libels he had published against Sir Hudson Lowe in his book, &c., he was interrupted by the Court, who asked when that work was first published, and whether the alleged libels were inserted only in a subsequent edition? After going through the facts as deposed to in Sir Hudson Lowe's affidavit, Lord Chief Justice Abbott (afterwards Lord Tenterden) said, "The only difficulty the Court has felt is the lateness of the application. I take it to be a settled rule, when you move for a criminal information against a magistrate or justice of the peace, you must come in the first term, or so early in the second term that he may show cause against the rule in that second term. You should

not come so late in the second term as to postpone the showing cause till the third term. That is the case where the application is against a magistrate or justice of the peace. I am not aware at this moment that the same rule has been laid down with regard to other persons, though in general the tardiness of the application operates strongly on the Court against the parties making it. Yet, in this particular case, Sir Hudson Lowe is an officer of the public; he is one of his Majesty's officers; so that the parties are changed."

The Court, however, granted the rule *nisi* as it is called, that is, a rule which was to be made absolute, unless O'Meara should show sufficient cause to the contrary; for the application for such a rule is in the first instance always *ex parte*.

In support of this rule Sir Hudson Lowe obtained and filed in Court twenty-one affidavits, including those of Sir Thomas Reade, Major Gorrequer, Sir George Bingham, many officers of the 53rd and 66th regiments, which were stationed at St. Helena during his government, Dr. Verling, Mr. Balcombe, and others. On the other side Mr. O'Meara filed seventeen affidavits, namely, his own, and those of Major Poppleton (who had been the first appointed orderly officer at Longwood),[1] two captains of the 53rd, and

[1] It is right to mention that, notwithstanding the good opinion Sir Hudson Lowe had entertained of Captain Poppleton while he discharged the duties of orderly officer, he afterwards discovered that he had accepted a present of a snuff-box from Napoleon, without acquainting him with the circumstance; but it is also fair to Captain Poppleton to state that on his arrival in England he informed Lord Bathurst that he had accepted the present. When Sir Hudson Lowe became aware of the fact, he wrote to Lord Bathurst in terms of strong censure of Captain Poppleton's conduct in this particular, saying that in accepting a present without his knowledge he considered him to have betrayed the confidential trust reposed in him. He had also refused Captain Poppleton's application to be allowed to remain at Longwood when the regiment to which he belonged was relieved.

a captain and lieutenant of the 66th regiment; Mr. Cumming, a purser of an East-Indiaman; Mr. Cook, formerly commander of a store-ship; Counts de Montholon and Las Cases, Emmanuel Las Cases, Dr. Antommarchi, and five of Bonaparte's domestic servants.

On the 11th of June O'Meara's counsel, Mr. Charles Phillips and Mr. (afterwards Mr. Justice) Patteson, showed cause against the rule, and, without attempting to enter into the facts or merits of the case, they urged the fatal objection, which had been already intimated by the Court when they granted the rule, that the application was made *too late*. The Solicitor-General admitted that he could find no precedent to justify the delay, and the late Lord Abinger, then Mr. Scarlett, who was retained with him in the case, confessed himself equally at fault. It now became merely a question whether the rule should be discharged with costs. Mr. Justice Best (afterwards Lord Wynford) said, "This objection does not go to the merits. It appears to me to be a fatal objection. If we choose to stand on that, and shut our eyes to the merits, I don't think we could give costs." And so the Court ultimately decided in Michaelmas term; and the only satisfaction which Sir Hudson Lowe derived from the result of the proceedings was, that he was not compelled to pay the costs of his adversary as well as his own! We cannot help sympathising with his feelings expressed in a note to his solicitor on the 7th of November, where he says,— "Your clerk has informed me that it is probable the question will be got rid of as lost in point of time. Really I hope the Solicitor-General will set me right with the public on this head: I never was informed, and could not know, that any particular time was

fixed for my bringing on the cause; and it was not until after my papers and memoranda had been in the Solicitor-General's possession the whole of last summer, and until his opinion and that of Mr. Tindal had been given to me upon them in November, that I knew the urgency of my bringing forward the case. I do not like it to be imputed to me that such delay proceeded from *ignorance* of the laws. It was not to be presumed I should be informed of such a rule, unless made acquainted with it by my legal advisers, and, as such a rule was known to exist by them, why was no opinion given to me upon the papers I left with the Solicitor-General until after a delay of three or four months? It would be really hard upon me to bear the whole reproach of the delay."

Sir Hudson next consulted Mr. Tindal as to the expediency of indicting O'Meara, or of bringing an action for damages against him. But the cautious lawyer dissuaded him from the attempt. He said with perfect truth that the proper legal remedy had been already resorted to for the vindication of his client's character. He had cleared himself from every charge upon his oath, and if O'Meara challenged the truth of his denials he might test them by prosecuting Sir Hudson Lowe for perjury. An indictment, however, would not try the truth or falsehood of the accusations contained in the libel, for Lord Campbell's excellent Act was not then in existence, which enables a defendant to justify, even in an indictment, an alleged libel if he can show that its publication is for the public benefit. As to a civil action, Mr. Tindal said that it was perfectly certain that O'Meara would not justify, for a great portion of his work consisted of private communications, as he himself stated, from Bonaparte, which, of course, he

could not prove. And it would be useless to incur the risk of obtaining a verdict for only small damages, which would, in fact, be a triumph to the defendant.

This opinion was submitted by Sir Hudson Lowe to Earl Bathurst, that he might be guided by that Minister's advice. And it is deeply to be lamented that he did not at once energetically follow Lord Bathurst's counsel, who wrote to him the following letter:—

"My dear General, "November 28, 1823.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, and the enclosures, which I return. After so decided an opinion given by so respectable an advocate as Mr. Tindal against any further prosecutions, I certainly could not think of advising you to undertake them. I have always thought that, whatever might have been the result of your late proceedings, you owed it to yourself, after all that had been said against you, to draw up a full and complete vindication of the administration of your government at St. Helena, coupled with all the documents in your statement. It will be for consideration when it will be prudent to publish it.

"With respect to the advice given you by your friends that you should press for some mark of his Majesty's favour as a testimony of the sense his Government entertain of your conduct, and the complaint which you seem to make that nothing has been done of that description, you will allow me to remind you that, though a regiment was not in a pecuniary light any great advantage, yet your having been given one soon after your return was an unequivocal proof of his Majesty's approbation of your services; and I am sure you will be ready to acknowledge that

the attention which has been shown to those who served under you is much more than Governors on their return usually experience. You are also, I believe, aware that it is my intention to take an early opportunity of recommending you to a West-India Government. I shall do so, because I think that your services entitle you to such an appointment, but do not let your friends persuade you that this is to silence any clamour which may be raised against you. Believe me it will only give to your opponents the occasion of renewing their attack.

"I have, &c.

"BATHURST."

It was no doubt a fatal mistake of Sir Hudson Lowe not to publish a refutation of the charges against him by printing the documents in his possession. He wearied the Government with applications for redress, when he had, in fact, in his own hands the amplest means of vindicating his character. It is needless to repeat what has been already said on this subject in an early part of the present work. He does not seem to have been aware how seldom there is found in Governments the moral courage to support, much less patronize, an injured but unpopular man. The *soi-disant* liberal press, which with strange inconsistency had always espoused the cause of Bonaparte, the very incarnation of military despotism, rejoiced at having so tangible an object of attack through whom the Ministry might be assailed, and a tide of calumny was thus set afloat which was enough to overwhelm any one, however innocent. And the miserable effect of this kind of position is, that at last even friends begin to grow lukewarm if not suspicious, and care not to come forward and incur the odium of defending

him whom the *vox populi* condemns. Besides, in another important respect Sir Hudson Lowe suffered. There can be little doubt that Lord Liverpool was in some degree prejudiced against him. Lord Bathurst recommended him for a pension, which was surely due to him as much as to Colonel Wilkes, the Governor of St. Helena whom he succeeded, and who received a retiring allowance of 1500*l.* a-year; but no pension was ever granted to Sir Hudson Lowe. Why was this? Nothing could be more full, explicit, and unreserved than the terms in which Lord Bathurst conveyed to him the approval of the British Government at the close of his arduous duties at St. Helena. Why, then, was a pecuniary recompence withheld which he had fairly earned?

The fact seems to be that Sir Hudson Lowe suffered the *peine forte et dure* for standing mute. Lord Liverpool, perhaps, construed the late Governor's persevering silence unfavourably, as though it arose from mistrust of the goodness of his case. *Aide toi, et le Ciel t'aidera,* is a golden maxim, which in a world like this ought never to be lost sight of. Instead of wasting his time in addressing memorials to the Ministry, and insisting in private to them upon his innocence of the charges heaped upon his head, he ought to have appealed boldly to the public by laying before them the real facts of the case, before the poison of calumny had infected the whole literature of the country on the subject of his government at St. Helena. He professed, indeed, to despise his enemies, and, conscious of his own rectitude, believed that justice would be done to him at last. But he died before that time came, and, beyond collecting materials for his defence, he took no steps for the public vindication of his character. When O'Meara's book first appeared

he proposed to the Government that he should publish a letter in his own name, declaring the whole work throughout, in all that related to him, to be a tissue of the grossest falsehoods, or of the most artful misrepresentations, and one of the most infamous attempts that had been ever made to impose upon the credulity and generous feelings of the British nation. To such a declaration it was suggested that he should add a pledge that he would write a refutation of the calumnies contained in it. This pledge, however, he says, that he saw no sufficiently strong motive to give. It was attaching an importance, both to the work itself and to the writer, which he did not conceive they merited. He could besides never brook the idea that his conduct in the discharge of the duty with which he had been charged, honoured as it had been by the fullest approbation of his Majesty's Government, was such as to render it necessary for him to enter into a vindication of it against the aspersion of such a slanderer.

The feeling which actuated him is strongly expressed in a letter he wrote on the 23rd of May, 1823, in which he said that he had so conducted himself in all his difficult relations towards Napoleon, during the whole course of his duties at St. Helena, as to set at utter defiance and to hold in the most downright contempt any species of accusation that could be brought against him, being convinced that the more publicity was given to any investigation relating to his conduct, whether towards Bonaparte or his followers, the greater would his difficulties appear, and the more would such investigation redound to his honour.

This feeling is creditable to Sir Hudson Lowe's spirit, and such expressions are the language of conscious innocence; but it was a grievous error not to

attempt to do away with the impression produced by O'Meara's book by giving to the world a true version of the occurrences which that writer so malignantly and so skilfully distorted.

Lord Bathurst did not forget his promise of a West Indian appointment, and on the 14th of December, 1823, he wrote to Sir Hudson and informed him that he was to go out as Governor of Antigua. He did not, however, for family reasons, accept the appointment, but subsequently, in 1825, he was made Commander of the Forces at Ceylon, and quitted England in the month of October in that year. He travelled by way of Paris, Frankfort, Vienna, and Constantinople. At Vienna he had an interview with Prince Metternich, who told him that, in a conversation he had with Count Bertrand in Paris, the latter said that they had no complaint to make against the Governor of St. Helena personally for his conduct there, that he did everything in his power to render their situation comfortable, but that it was the island they were dissatisfied with.[1] Bertrand at the same time mentioned that they had given up all hope of being removed from St. Helena through the effect of their complaints, and that their sole hope for some time before Bonaparte's death was in the success of a project which had been formed in America for getting him off the island.

In 1828, while Sir Hudson Lowe was at Ceylon, Sir Walter Scott's 'Life of Napoleon' appeared. The archives of the Colonial Office had been thrown open to his research, and he had had the opportunity of reading the despatches of Earl Bathurst and Sir Hudson Lowe. And no one can doubt the willingness of

[1] The reader will remember the suppressed passage of Las Cases' Journal, quoted previously, vol. i. p. 25:—"*Les détails de St. Hélène sont peu de chose; c'est d'y être qui est la grande affaire.*"

Sir Walter Scott to do justice to the reputation of another, or for a moment suspect him of unfairness in the use of materials placed at his command. A more thoroughly honest and high-minded writer never existed, and, while we admire the genius of the poet, the novelist, and the historian, we love the generous and kindly nature of the man. But it seems impossible that he could have attentively perused the correspondence between Lord Bathurst and the Governor of St. Helena, and the other official documents, weighing carefully the evidence they contain against the assertions of such authors as O'Meara, Las Cases, and Antommarchi. For, to quote only one instance of inaccuracy, he speaks of Sir Hudson Lowe as forgetting that his prisoner was in a situation where he ought not to have been considered as an object of resentment, or as subject like other men to retort and retaliation. "The new Governor," he says, "was vulnerable; he could be rendered angry, and might therefore be taken at advantage." The public naturally imagined that this view was formed upon, or at all events corroborated by, a perusal of the official documents to which Sir Walter had had access, and it of course gave additional probability to the statements of O'Meara in his book, where he represents Sir Hudson Lowe as giving way to unseemly bursts of passion, and abusing his power for the purpose of causing annoyance to Napoleon. But the documents themselves are directly opposed to any such conclusion. Whatever may have been Sir Hudson Lowe's faults of character, assuredly the want of self-command in his relations towards his captive was not one of them. We have seen that Napoleon was irritated not by his anger, but his impassive coolness, and that Sir Pulteney Malcolm bore testimony to his perfect control over his temper during the pain-

ful interviews at Longwood. And we may safely assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that there does not exist in all the numerous despatches, whether public or private, which he wrote while Governor of St. Helena, or in the voluminous papers which he left behind him at his death, a single line to warrant the idea that he ever considered Napoleon as "an object of resentment, and open to retort and retaliation."

Sir Hudson Lowe turned with eagerness to Sir Walter Scott's work in hopes of finding in it a full vindication of his conduct as Governor of St. Helena. He had been grievously injured in public estimation by the calumnies which had been industriously spread by his enemies, and he thought that the time was now come when the whole truth would be made known, and the cloud which rested on his name would be rolled away. He expected, however, more than it was possible for the historian to accomplish. For Sir Walter had access only to the correspondence and documents in the Colonial Office, and these did not and could not supply the materials for a complete defence. This required an inspection of the minutes made from time to time by Major Gorrequer, which have been so often quoted in the present work—a comparison of O'Meara's printed narrative with his private letters—and the consideration of a great variety of documents in Sir Hudson Lowe's possession, which Sir Walter Scott had no opportunity of perusing.

In proportion as Sir Hudson's hopes had been raised, the pang of disappointment was keenly felt;—"for it was not an enemy that reproached him, then he could have borne it." He applied for and obtained from the Governor of Ceylon temporary leave of absence, in order that he might return to England and consider

what steps he ought to take in his own vindication. On his way home he touched at St. Helena, and with what feelings must he have visited a place with which his own fate had been so strangely interwoven! He had first landed there as its Governor, to assume one of the most responsible trusts ever committed to a public servant of the Crown; he had quitted it with the unqualified approbation of the Ministry that appointed him; and he was now returning to Europe from another and subordinate command to endeavour to obtain reparation for years of calumny and detraction earned by a conscientious discharge of his duty at St. Helena. There however his reception was such as almost to atone for the sufferings and annoyances of the past. Military honours were paid him on landing, a public entertainment was given him by the inhabitants, and another by the military of the colony. He remained on the island only three days, and on the evening of the last he was attended to the waterside by those who welcomed him as their guest, and he was cheered by them as he embarked.

The tribute was spontaneous, and as such was deeply felt by the man who had so long been the object of unmerited odium. It was also the more valuable as offered in the place where his character was best known and his conduct most fully understood.

Short as was his stay at St. Helena, the ex-Governor did not fail to visit Longwood—that spot on which the interest of Europe had been for more than five years so keenly concentrated. And what was the sight that met his eye? Since his departure the place had been appropriated to the meanest uses. The chief approach to it now was through a large pigsty, which occupied the site of what had formerly been the offices. Out of the windows of what had once

been the billiard-room, through broken panes, protruded bundles of hay; and a thrashing-machine was placed in the closet which adjoined the bed-room. The bed-room itself—that room in which Napoleon Bonaparte had breathed his last—was converted into a stable! The garden in which he had soothed some of the weary hours of his captivity was no longer a garden. Its walks were cut up, its shrubs removed, its grotto and its fountains gone. But let due praise be given to the utilitarian motive for this dreary change. The plot of ground had become a potato-field, and those who authorised these acts had the consolation of knowing that, however feeling might be outraged, and sentiment shocked, they at all events put money into their pockets by the miserable transformation.

When Sir Hudson Lowe reached England, he found that the Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Ministry, and Earl Bathurst President of the Council. He hastened to the latter, and consulted him as to the expediency of publishing an answer to Sir Walter Scott's work. Lord Bathurst, however, did not encourage him in this design; nor indeed did he take the same view as Sir Hudson Lowe of the unfavourable effect of that writer's remarks. He told him that no difference was felt in the sentiments of Government towards him, and they required no refutation of charges which they did not believe. Moreover, he said that Sir Hudson's best chance of succeeding to the government of Ceylon was by being on the spot when a vacancy occurred; and he advised him to return there without delay. Before leaving England, Sir Hudson Lowe had an audience of the Duke of Wellington, and endeavoured to obtain from him a promise of his interest, in the event of the vacancy

occurring. The Duke, however, replied that he never did, and never would, make any such promise beforehand; and that he did not think the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, would be justified in doing so. But he added that, in his opinion, the ex-Governor of St. Helena had been very hardly used; and when Sir Hudson observed that the object of his application to Government had always been either to obtain a situation corresponding in rank to that which he had filled at St. Helena, or the means of an honourable retirement, if Government, from motives of policy, did not think fit to employ him, the Duke answered, that no motive of policy would prevent him from employing him (Sir Hudson) where his services might be useful. On this Sir Hudson Lowe suggested that an opportunity might occur of sending him in some capacity to the Russian army, which at that time was engaged in a campaign against the Turks; but the Duke of Wellington shortly replied, "We have kept out of that; we have kept out of that."

Sir Hudson Lowe then spoke on the subject of a pension, stating the circumstances under which he had before applied for one; but the Duke made immediate objections, saying that Parliament would not grant it. Sir Hudson replied, that he had always been desirous to have the question referred to Parliament, and was ready to stand or fall by its decision. The Duke of Wellington, however, said, it was useless to urge the matter any further, as he was certain Mr. Peel would never make any such proposal to the House of Commons.

Sir Hudson Lowe therefore returned to Ceylon and resumed his former military command in that island, looking forward to the prospect of becoming Governor at no distant period. He was, however,

doomed to disappointment. The expected vacancy occurred at the end of 1830, but a different Ministry was then in power, and from it he had little to hope. Earl Grey was Prime Minister, and neither he nor his colleagues could be expected to sympathize much with the former guardian of Napoleon's person, of whom it had been so long the fashion of their party to speak as the inhuman gaoler of an injured prisoner.

To show the kind of odium which attached to his name, we may mention an incident which occurred in 1833. In the course of a debate in the House of Lords on the 19th of February in that year, respecting the provisions of a Coercion Bill for Ireland, Lord Teynham, after saying that, though he was willing to intrust extraordinary powers to the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (the Marquis of Normanby), yet it was necessary to legislate with reference to those who might succeed him. "Now suppose," continued Lord Teynham, "the noble Marquis were to be succeeded in the Government of Ireland by a Sir Hudson Lowe"—Here the speaker was called to order, and, when he had sat down, the Duke of Wellington immediately said, "I do not rise to oppose the motion of the noble Lord, or to state any objection to the proposition of the Lord-Lieutenant being assisted by six Privy Councillors; but I do rise for the purpose of defending the character of a highly respectable officer, not a Member of this House, from the gross imputation thrown upon him (by implication) by the noble Lord; and certainly a grosser one I never heard uttered within these walls. When the noble Lord pays a tribute of respect to the present Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, I have no doubt that all noble Lords concur in the same opinion he has expressed of that noble Marquis; but when he says 'the noble Marquis

may be succeeded by some Sir Hudson Lowe,' I beg to know what the noble Lord means? I have the honour to know Sir Hudson Lowe, and I will say, in this House or elsewhere, wherever it may be, that there is not in the army a more respectable officer than Sir Hudson Lowe, nor has his Majesty a more faithful subject."

Lord Teynham.—"Really, my Lords, I had no intention of aspersing the private character of Sir Hudson Lowe. No doubt the testimony the noble Duke bears to it is perfectly correct. But as regards his public conduct while Governor of St. Helena, I say, and will maintain it as a Peer of Parliament, that he is cried out upon by all the people of Europe as a person not fit to be trusted with power."

Earl Bathurst.—"Perhaps it is conferring too much importance on the matter to offer any answer to the noble Lord's remarks; but after his observations on the late Governor of St. Helena, that he so conducted himself in that capacity as to have been found fault with in every part of Europe, I deny that such was the case; the charge is directly false. Sir Hudson Lowe behaved, in his very responsible capacity, in a manner highly to his credit: all well-informed persons on the Continent of Europe knew what his conduct was, and approved it."

A day or two afterwards Lord Teynham made the following apology for his unwarrantable attack:—"In rising to present two petitions on the subject of tithes, I beg to state—what I should have stated more explicitly on a former evening (if I had not been called to order, or rather interrupted, upon my making an observation in which I mentioned the name of that gallant officer Sir Hudson Lowe)—I now beg to state that it was not my intention to impute im-

proper conduct to, or to make any reflection upon, that individual. I merely used the name of that gallant person hypothetically, in order to show the danger of placing any portion of his Majesty's subjects under military power, upon an uncertainty into whose hands that power might hereafter fall. I trust, therefore, that the friends of the gallant General in this House will believe—and that through them he may be informed—that it was not my intention to bring any accusation against him."

Sir Hudson Lowe wrote and thanked the Duke for his prompt and generous defence, and his Grace replied in the following note:—

"My dear General, "S. Saye, Feb. 21, 1833.

"I have received your letter of the 20th. I assure you that I considered that I did no more than my duty upon the occasion to which you refer in repelling a very gross and marked insinuation against an officer, in his absence, for whom I entertained the highest respect and regard. The discussion ended in a way that must be highly satisfactory to all your friends. Ever, my dear General, yours most faithfully,

"WELLINGTON.

"Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe."

Sir Robert Wilmot Horton was apointed the new Governor of Ceylon, and Sir Hudson Lowe's hopes of preferment were at an end. He returned to England in 1831, and never afterwards had any public employment or received any pension. In a memorial he drew up in 1843, after alluding to the state of inactivity in which he had been kept for twelve years, he said,—"The Government of the island of Ceylon had *thrice* fallen vacant, and the chief authority in the

Ionian Islands (where my local services at their liberation and in the discharge of *civil* and military duties subsequently had contributed to form a strong claim for re-employment)[1] *four* times, during the period of which I have been speaking. Vacancies had also arisen on other stations; but on none of these occasions were either my local or general services, or any claim arising from past disappointments, taken into that consideration which I should have hoped might have been deemed to be their due.

"The several commands in India had also repeatedly fallen vacant during the above period, but, although my name had been taken down as a candidate for employment in that quarter, no result followed."

Sir Hudson died in 1844, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He died poor, for, although while Governor of St. Helena his salary had been liberal, amounting to 12,000*l.* a-year, the expense of the situation, the high prices of every article of consumption in the island, and his own hospitable mode of living, allowed him to save little. He therefore left no provision for his family, and the late Sir Robert Peel recommended Miss Lowe, the unmarried daughter of Sir Hudson, to the Queen for a small pension which at the time was at his disposal, "in recognition of the services of her father."

[1] Here it is right to notice what was omitted in the Memoir of Sir Hudson Lowe in chapter iii. of vol. i., that he received from the inhabitants of Santa Maura, one of the Ionian Islands, on ceasing to be its Governor in 1812, a most complimentary address; and also a sword from the Members of Council, which was voted to him in the following flattering terms:—"Per caratterizzare quindi all' adorabile nostro Lowe nella più animata ed onorevole forma gl' ingenui sentimenti della viva nostra riconoscenza, crede doveroso il Governo Provisorio di quest' Isola, doverglisi dedicare a nome di tutta la grata popolazione Leucadiense una sciabla d'oro, su cui con simbolleggianti configurazioni, ed espressivi emblemi siano incisi li suoi singolari meriti rapporto a noi, nonchè le nostre riconoscenti sensazioni."

CHAPTER XXXII.

REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE AS AFFECTING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND SIR HUDSON LOWE.

WE have now brought our narrative to its close; but it may perhaps be thought neither useless nor irrelevant briefly to review the evidence that has been adduced, and say a few words as to its result and effect. There are obviously two questions to consider—questions which are, in themselves, quite distinct, but which the public have been apt to confound. These are, first, What was the conduct of the British Government towards Napoleon Bonaparte when his surrender at Rochefort placed him as a prisoner in their hands? and, secondly, What was the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom was committed the responsible office of guarding the captive and carrying out the instructions of the Ministry? The Government might be in fault, and yet Sir Hudson Lowe be acquitted of all reproach; or again, they might be blameless, and he might deserve to be condemned. Let us separate the cases, and deal with each according to its merits.

I have already endeavoured to show that the assumption of Napoleon, that his surrender was voluntary, and therefore that he had a right to be treated as a guest and not as a prisoner, had no foundation in fact. He had but a choice of evils. Escape was all but impossible; and the only real alternatives were, either to give himself up to one of the hostile powers

arrayed against him, or try another desperate chance on the battlefield with the broken fragments of a vanquished and dispirited army against the combined forces of Europe. If he were again beaten, death or surrender was inevitable, and what sane man believes that even Napoleon could have successfully contended with such tremendous odds as were against him, if he had attempted to retrieve his ruined fortune by another battle? He weighed the counsel of the devoted officers who were willing to fight for him to the last; but he saw that the scheme was hopeless, and he rejected it. What then remained? Nothing but surrender. He chose, for good reasons of his own, the deck of a British man-of-war as his place of refuge from a worse calamity; but this act of his gave him no more rights than he possessed a few hours before, when he was still deliberating whether he should not put himself at the head of the army behind the Loire, and risk the chances of another action with Wellington. No denial can falsify—no sophistry can alter—this fact. It is proclaimed in the page of history, and that page must be torn out before we can admit that England was bound, by any principle of justice, or any canon of international law, to receive as an uninvited guest her most persevering and rancorous enemy. Rancorous, indeed, we may call him, when we remember the proclamations he issued to his generals and armies in the Peninsula. They were told to drive the "hideous leopard" into the sea, and the victor at Assye, Vimiero, Talavera, and Badajos, was contemptuously designated as a "sepoy general." England was the Carthage which the Scipio of France was to destroy. "*Cette lutte contre Carthage sera décidée dans les plaines des Espagnes.*" The language of his official journal, the 'Moniteur,'

was, "God grant that a hundred thousand English may present themselves before us in the open field! The Continent has always been their tomb!"; and it was in the following terms that he addressed his Admirals from the camp of Boulogne: "Go! lose not a moment: once gain possession of the Channel for twenty-four hours, and England is ours. We shall then have avenged six centuries of insult and shame."

What then was England to do? Was she to treat with the honours due to a crowned head and give an asylum on her shores to him, whom she had only a few months previously, in conjunction with the Allied Powers in solemn Congress assembled, denounced as an outlaw, and with whom she and they had sworn to combat until the disturber of the world's peace was subdued?[1] Something, perhaps, might have been said for this, if the tide of time could have been rolled back, and the events which followed the abdication at Fontainebleau in 1814 had been forgotten. But were the escape from Elba, and the bloody campaign of Waterloo, without warning and significance? England would have been a traitress to Europe, if she had not secured the person of Napoleon in such a way as to render any outbreak of his mad ambition all but impossible. But this could not have been accomplished if he had been permitted to reside in Britain, unless we had kept him in some fortress a closely-guarded prisoner. And Napoleon denied our right to do this. His claim was to be received as a guest, and as such of course he would have been entitled to complain of restrictions on his liberty.

[1] "Les Puissances déclarent, en conséquence, que Napoléon Buonaparte s'est placé hors des relations civiles et sociales, et que, comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la vindicte publique."—*Extract from the Protocol of the Congress of Vienna, March*, 1815.

Mere surveillance would have been a mockery, and no custody, short of that which the stone walls of a prison afforded, would have been secure. The danger of proximity to France was not now a matter of opinion, but of fact. Experience had shown that the faith of treaties could not bind, nor reverses check, the ambition of Napoleon. The hopes of every malcontent in France would have turned to him so long as his return was a possible contingency; and the very circumstance of his near neighbourhood would have given birth to a thousand plots for the overthrow of the Bourbons. Nor must we imagine that these plots would not have been seconded by some amongst ourselves. Many were so infatuated as still to look upon Bonaparte as the child and champion of the French Revolution, which they defended and admired; and his place of residence in this country would have been the rallying-point of disaffection and focus of political intrigue.

The British Government, therefore, determined to remove Napoleon far from Europe, in which for the space of twenty years he had kept alive the flames of war. They wished to grant him as much liberty as was consistent with safe custody, and abridge as little as possible the comforts and even luxuries to which he had been accustomed. For this purpose they selected St. Helena, the climate of which was healthy, and its situation such as enabled them to combine the restraints of confinement with a due regard to the personal convenience of the exile. It was a place which a *French* writer had described in 1804 as an Isle of Calypso—a spot worthy to have given birth to the Goddess of Beauty—so sunny, cheerful, and healthy was it![1] And in a report published in the same year

[1] Voyage par M. Bory de St. Vincent. An XIII. (1804).

at Paris, *by order of the First Consul*, St. Helena was called a terrestrial paradise, where the air was pure and the sky serene; where health shone in every countenance, and diseases contracted in India were immediately cured.[1]

We wish not to avail ourselves of the plea that Napoleon's own treatment of *his* prisoners would have justified England in adopting severer and sterner measures. We hold it to be an unworthy argument that a great nation should measure its sense of what is due to a fallen foe by his own conduct towards others in the day of his prosperity and power. But we think that complaints of our injustice and cruelty came with a bad grace from one who never showed commiseration or indulgence towards those whom the fortune of war threw into his hands. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien was an act which would have made the harshest treatment of Napoleon appear to be only a measure of righteous retribution. His conduct towards the Queen of Prussia showed *his* indifference towards the feelings of the unfortunate. His own favourite maxim, which he more than once repeated at St. Helena, was that *la politica giustifica tutto*—"policy justifies everything"—and even he could not deny that this plea would have entitled us to deal with him in any manner most expedient for the interests of Europe.

The next question is, whether England ought to have accorded to Napoleon the imperial title. I have already expressed my own opinion that it would have been more magnanimous to have done so, and that we might have humoured the sensitive pride of our prostrate enemy by allowing him to retain the style of appellation to which he had been so long familiar. I know not whether many will be disposed to agree in

[1] See Pictorial Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 36.

this view; but it is only fair to state that it was from no narrow-minded feeling of vindictiveness, but from grave reasons of state policy, that the British Government came to a different conclusion. They thought that they could not without inconsistency grant to Napoleon when vanquished the title which they had steadily refused to him in the plenitude of his power. They had carried on the war with him, not as the Emperor of France, but as a successful adventurer at the head of an immense army which coerced the will of the French nation. They had been no party to the treaty of Paris, which recognised him as Emperor of Elba, for Lord Castlereagh expressly refused to sanction it with his signature. Louis XVIII. had been received in France, not as a ruler imposed upon the people by foreign bayonets, but as their legitimate and rightful sovereign. There could not be at the same time an Emperor and a King of the same country, and we had never ceased to recognise the head of the Bourbon family as King. It might be asked, as Sir Walter Scott in an able argument on the subject has put the question, "If Napoleon was acknowledged Emperor of France, of what country was Louis XVIII. King?" And there would have been, to say the least of it, an awkward appearance of discourtesy to that monarch if we had, by giving the title of Emperor to Bonaparte, seemed to sanction what Louis could look upon only as an usurpation of his own rights. Moreover, the English Ministry felt that the imperial style could in future be only a mockery and a sham as regarded Napoleon himself, while it might cause serious embarrassment in the mode of dealing with him at St. Helena. "His purpose," says Sir Walter Scott,[1] "in tenaciously claiming the name of

[1] Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, vol. ix. p. 138.

a sovereign, was to establish his claim to the immunities belonging to that title. He had already experienced at Elba the use to be derived from erecting a barrier of etiquette betwixt his person and any inconvenient visitor. Once acknowledged as Emperor, it followed of course that he was to be treated as such in every particular; and thus it would have become impossible to enforce such regulations as were absolutely demanded for his safe custody. Such a *status*, once granted, would have furnished Napoleon with a general argument against every precaution which might be taken to prevent his escape."

In addition to these reasons it was thought a matter of vital importance at the time to lessen the *prestige* of his name, which had such a strange influence over the minds of men, that, even when he was doing his utmost to injure England, the country which he hated most, he found apologists, if not partisans, in the ranks of the Opposition in the British Parliament. And having once come to this decision, the Government resolved to act consistently. They refused to become parties to any proposal which might seem to keep alive his pretensions to the title which they denied him. It was on this ground that Lord Bathurst directed Sir Hudson Lowe not to encourage in Napoleon the idea of assuming an *incognito*, which it would have seemed invidious to refuse, and might have caused some embarrassment to allow. The conduct of the English Ministry towards Napoleon was based on the principle of truth. They in effect said to him, "We will not, now that you are our prisoner, give you the shadow of a crown, when we have constantly opposed your claim to the reality. You renounced the title of First Consul, which we acknowledged, and you assumed another which we have never recognized. We will not suffer

you now to mimic the forms and assert the privileges of sovereignty in our intercourse with you, for we have never reckoned you in the number of crowned heads." These are reasons which, whether they be capable of refutation or not, were not to be lightly disregarded, and they are such as made the English Government determine not to grant the style of Emperor to Napoleon.

The next point to consider is the actual treatment of Napoleon while under the guardianship of England. And here, when all the facts of the case are fully and fairly known, it does seem impossible to make good any charge against the Ministry of the day. To provide effectually against his evasion was an essential condition. But having made this point secure, Lord Bathurst and his colleagues showed an anxious desire to study his wishes and promote his comfort.

They required indeed that he should be accompanied by an orderly officer when he rode beyond the boundary of his limits, and that the correspondence with and from Longwood should pass through the hands and be submitted to the eye of the Governor. But what was there unreasonable in this? Let it not be forgotten that active minds were continually at work, planning the possibility of rescuing the captive at St. Helena. A dash down a ravine, and the strokes of a few oars, might have set Napoleon free, if the most unremitting care had not been taken to prevent secret concert and intelligence with the external world. We have it on the authority of Bertrand that the hopes of the French exiles were turned to America, and, had any relaxation of the stringency of our watch rendered the design practicable, there would have been no lack of adventurers ready to attempt it, who would have deemed themselves sufficiently rewarded

by the *éclat* of the enterprise if it had proved successful. Many a romantic scheme was formed for the purpose and abandoned. But why? Because it was known that the regulations opposed an invincible obstacle in the way of its execution, and the sleepless vigilance of Sir Hudson Lowe was not to be deceived.

But a range was given to Napoleon within which he might enjoy all the privacy of retirement, and as much freedom from restraint as he could possibly desire. His table was served on a liberal, and even luxurious, scale. There was a constant supply of expensive wines. Ten or twelve saddle-horses were kept for him and his officers. No expense was spared in rendering the house at Longwood as comfortable as circumstances would allow, although we freely admit that it never was a suitable residence for Napoleon. This the Governor always felt, and he made every exertion to provide a better. The materials for a new house were sent out from England as soon as it was found that the island did not furnish the means of building one fit for his abode. The reiterated instructions of Lord Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe, contained not only in official despatches but in private letters, were to show his captive every indulgence compatible with the security of his person. Surely, with Lamartine, we may call this a respectful captivity, although it was characterised as a martyrdom; and we may challenge those who assert that the conduct of the English Government was wanting in humanity to point out a single authentic instance by which that charge can be supported.

But not a syllable of thanks or acknowledgment ever passed the lips of Bonaparte. The system, or, as the French called it, the policy, at Longwood was to keep alive a spurious sympathy in Europe

on their behalf by a tale of imaginary wrongs, as if the English Ministry delighted to mortify their prisoner by a series of mean and petty persecutions. It was for this object that the plate was broken up for sale—that exaggerated complaints were made when the provisions, owing to some accidental neglect of the purveyor, were either deficient in quantity or indifferent in quality—that an attempt to check waste was represented as parsimonious thrift, and the iron railing, sent from England to ornament the enclosure of the grounds and prevent cattle from trespassing, was designated as an iron cage. And let it not be forgotten that every shilling expended upon the establishment at Longwood was derived from the taxation of the people of England. Those whom he had never spoken of in the zenith of his power except in the most opprobrious terms—"that nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously called them—cheerfully contributed a portion of their wealth to alleviate the discomforts of his situation and minister to his indulgence. They enabled him to maintain a numerous retinue, who kept up around him the formalities of a court, and served him with the ceremony of royal etiquette.

That he might have, in some respects, been better off at Longwood we need not deny, but his own obstinacy exposed him to gratuitous annoyance. He secluded himself in his chamber and enfeebled his health because a road, which he had never used, was for a time withdrawn from his limits, and he persisted in this mode of life long after he knew that the road was open to him as before. When workmen were employed to make some addition to his rooms he complained of the noise and insisted that they should be dismissed. After the removal of O'Meara he pre-

ferred to suffer illness rather than call in a medical attendant, who resided at Longwood for the express object of watching over his health. He displayed a tenacity of purpose and obstinacy of will which, if it had been shown in the heroic endurance of unavoidable misfortune, would have been sublime, but which, when employed in the creation of grievances and repulse of proffered kindness, was only contemptible. A man who is ingenious in inflicting annoyance upon himself will seldom want the opportunity. He may generally defeat the well-meant intentions of those who endeavour to mitigate his lot, but it is hard that he should be allowed to fasten upon them the responsibility of his own self-imposed restraints.

And wherein did Sir Hudson Lowe fail to carry out the humane wishes of the British Government? We admit that his manner was not attractive, but he had too few opportunities of personal intercourse with Napoleon to render this a matter of any moment. Indeed, at the first interview, before it was known that his sense of duty was as rigid as that of Sir George Cockburn, the impression he made was favourable. "This new Governor is a man of very few words, but he appears to be a polite man," was Napoleon's remark to O'Meara. And here it is only fair to Sir Hudson Lowe to quote from a manuscript found amongst his papers, in which he had commenced a narrative of the events of his government at St. Helena, but did not proceed beyond a few pages, his own account of the feelings and temper of mind with which he accepted and endeavoured to fulfil the duties of his arduous task. He says, "I may truly declare that I undertook the charge intrusted to me upon public principle; for, opposed as it was to my own

inclination, I yet made no stipulations; I sought no advantages; whatever was granted me, whether of military distinction or pecuniary stipend, was given unsolicited. I received the appointment with gratitude, as an honour conferred upon me, although an honour attended certainly with very onerous and anxious duties, and I hoped to justify the choice of my sovereign by my conduct. . . . . I had some motives for believing that I could render his (Napoleon's) confinement as little irksome to him as the circumstances of the case would admit of. I knew his country and his countrymen, and looked upon both, not only without prejudice, but with affectionate regard. I recollect the time when I had said that, if I were not a native of Great Britain, which, could it be a matter of choice, would be my first wish, I should be proud to be a native of Corsica." And again,—"I trust that it will clearly be seen by the following pages that the worst charges which Napoleon Bonaparte could raise against me were an insensibility to every instance of violence which he showed to me, and a facility at detecting the motives of much of his conduct, which were unavoidably mortifying, because he had objects in view of deep interest to him in many of his words and acts, intended to appear merely as the consequence of anger and intemperance.

"I trust that it will further be evident that, if persecution existed at St. Helena, *I* was the object of it; and that it was often moved in unsuspected and distant quarters, and directed by unseen and, to the world, unknown agents. It will certainly be evident that I never resented this treatment. I considered it only an inconvenience, although a serious one, belonging to the appointment which I had accepted.

"But more than this will be made plain, and I

hope acknowledged by the reader. I claim credit for having studiously consulted the personal convenience and comfort of Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers. To the former my instructions, as well as my inclination, obliged me to show every indulgence consistent with his personal safety; and the approval recorded both of the particular acts and general conduct with which I executed my instructions includes a direct testimony that I did treat my prisoner with the indulgence which the British Government desired, and his situation demanded. The occurrences which will be presently laid before the reader will prove that this course was steadily pursued amidst a series of provocations and intrigues which were intended to produce treatment of an opposite character, and so to give real cause of complaint, for purposes which it will appear were of more importance to the prisoner than any temporary inconvenience he was prepared to suffer from measures of severity. The absence of all severity was his real grievance."

Let us now say a few words as to those chapters of Sir Walter Scott's 'Life of Napoleon' in which he discusses the question of the charges brought against the Governor of St. Helena. After mentioning that the correspondence of Sir Hudson Lowe with the British Government had been laid open to him by Lord Bathurst, he reviews under two separate heads the alleged grievances of Napoleon; first, as they arose out of the instructions of the Ministry; and secondly, as to the mode in which those instructions were said to have been executed by the Governor of St. Helena. With reference to the first point, he examines in detail the instructions and regulations consequent upon them, and ably vindicates them from the charge of unnecessary strictness and severity. He also shows

that the complaints of the French at Longwood against Sir George Cockburn, whose conduct has been favourably spoken of by the historians of the Captivity as fair, honourable, and conciliatory, were really without foundation. He then proceeds to consider the character and conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, and it is impossible not to see that the view he takes is upon the whole unfavourable. "It would be unjust," he says, "to condemn him unheard who has never fairly been put upon his defence, and the evidence against whom is of a very suspicious nature;" and he admits "the impossibility of producing impartial evidence on the subject of a long train of minute and petty incidents, each of which necessarily demands investigation, and is the subject of inculpation and defence." But the impression which he leaves upon the mind of the reader is, that some of the charges cannot be successfully met. The points in which Sir Walter Scott seems to have thought that Sir Hudson Lowe failed, were a want of proper command of temper in his intercourse with Napoleon, and a want of steadiness of purpose, arising from an oppressive sense of the importance and the difficulties of his situation. "This over anxiety," he says, "led to frequent changes of his regulations, and to the adoption of measures which were afterwards abandoned and perhaps again resumed. All this uncertainty occasioned just subject of complaint to his prisoner; for though a captive may become gradually accustomed to the fetters which he wears daily in the same manner, he must be driven to impatience if the mode of them be altered from day to day."

This passage conveys the idea that frequent and harassing changes were made by the Governor in his rules, and that his conduct with respect to them was marked by vacillation, the effect of which

was to annoy and irritate Napoleon. And if such were really the case, he must have infused much needless bitterness into the cup which his prisoner had to drink; and it would prove him to have been very unfit for the delicate office which he had to perform, and which in so peculiar a degree required a firm, consistent, and, at the same time, conciliatory course of action. But is it true that Sir Hudson Lowe did behave towards Napoleon in the manner imputed to him? Did he capriciously and vexatiously change the regulations which had been once established? The reader has before him in these volumes all the evidence that exists on the subject, and he can determine for himself how far the allegation is correct. The instances cited by Sir Walter Scott by way of example are two: first—the restriction by the Governor of Napoleon's limits to two-thirds of their original space, and the restoration of them shortly afterwards to their previous extent; and second—the relaxation at times of the rule which required that Napoleon should be seen every day by an orderly officer. Let us consider both these subjects of complaint.

The original limits of Napoleon embraced a circuit of twelve miles. Four of these consisted of a road which descended from Longwood into a ravine, and then, rising to the opposite side, ran along Woody Ridge to Hutt's Gate. The ravine, therefore, was within the limits. In it were numerous cottages, which Napoleon had entered, and to some of the inhabitants he had given money. This was thought to be an objectionable practice, and the only mode of preventing it was by either interdicting him from the ravine, or making an orderly officer accompany him in his rides. To the latter plan he had an insuperable aversion.

The only alternative, therefore, seemed to be to cut off the ravine from the limits. This necessarily cut off also the road along Woody Ridge, which could be reached only by first crossing the ravine. But Napoleon had never once used that road since the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena. It was therefore thought that there could be no hardship in excluding it from the limits, in order to get rid of the difficulty about the ravine. This was the real object of the Regulations, as altered in October 1816. But as the policy of the exile at Longwood was to represent every act of the Governor as an oppression, and he complained bitterly of the loss he had sustained in not being allowed to ride unattended along a road which, when it was open to him, he had never once made use of, Sir Hudson soon afterwards withdrew the regulation and restored the road to the limits, accompanying the concession with a request,[1] which was (perhaps not unreasonably) construed by Bonaparte into a command, that he would not go off the road while on horseback, for this would have enabled him to visit the cottages of the blacks in the ravine, and in other respects have facilitated clandestine meetings. The *restrictions* imposed by the Governor, in respect of the limits, were these and no more. Every subsequent change was in Napoleon's favour, and more and more space was afterwards accorded to him, until even Montholon warmly thanked Sir Hudson Lowe for what he had done for them. Can it then be said that his conduct towards his prisoner in this matter was such as to justify complaint? and did he needlessly harass Napoleon by frequent and capricious changes in the limits? Surely all that is required to

[1] "On est *invité* de se borner à la route principale." See Letters and Documents in vol. i. No. 45.

vindicate him from the charge is to state the facts truly as they have been here detailed.

As regards the second of the two instances given by Sir Walter Scott,—that which relates to the rule requiring the orderly officer daily to see Napoleon,—he himself says, "Perhaps the Governor may be in this case rather censured as having given up a point impressed upon him by his original instructions, than blamed for executing them too strictly against the remarkable person who was his prisoner." It would be hard indeed if the considerate conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, in conniving to a certain extent at the breach of the rule which required that the orderly officer should, once every day at least, see Napoleon, were to be made a matter of reproach against him. The mere omission of this duty at certain intervals, owing to the almost insuperable difficulties thrown in the way of its discharge by Bonaparte himself, and the enforcement of the rule at periods when it became absolutely necessary to ascertain by ocular evidence the presence of the prisoner in the island, must in all fairness be attributed to motives of kindness and humanity, and cannot be construed into a hardship or a grievance. There never was a time when Napoleon could have been misled into the belief that the regulation was abandoned; and he knew perfectly well that it was only to avoid the appearance of rudeness and the risk of actual collision, that, when he shut himself up for days, and even for weeks together, in the privacy of his chamber, the orderly officer did not force his way into the house and execute the commands imposed on him by his instructions. We may therefore dismiss this charge as one that is unfounded and untenable.

Few things irritated Napoleon more than the firm-

ness of the Governor in not allowing any correspondence to pass between the French at Longwood and the inhabitants of the island, unless it had been previously submitted to his inspection. But in this respect Sir Hudson Lowe had no option. He was only obeying the express and positive command of his Government, who insisted that he should read all letters written by the Exile and his attendants before they were delivered to the persons to whom they were addressed. This is an office which must always give pain to an honourable mind. But the necessity of the case admitted of no alternative. It would have been in the last degree dangerous to permit sealed communications to take place, the contents of which were unknown to the Governor. Let it not be forgotten that Napoleon never for a moment, until the hand of death was upon him, abandoned the hope of leaving St. Helena. I have said that I do not believe he seriously entertained any plan of secret escape, but this was only because the precautions taken to prevent it rendered it hopeless, if not impossible. But active partisans were at work in Europe and in America plotting on his behalf, and his eagle eye was ever on the watch scanning the horizon and looking for deliverance. He had made O'Meara his creature, and through him established communications with agents in London. To prove this we have only to refer to the contents of the intercepted letters which were addressed to O'Meara at St. Helena under a feigned name; and the letter from the Cape of Good Hope, written to the same person, shows that some clandestine scheme was then in contemplation. These volumes demonstrate that, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the English Government and Sir Hudson Lowe, Napoleon and his officers were able to corrupt

the fidelity of persons who, for the sake of a bribe, secretly conveyed documents to Europe. The kindness of the Governor in permitting visitors to relieve by their presence the tedium and monotony of exile was unscrupulously abused; and it was made a boast by the French that they had no difficulty in sending packets of letters to their friends with whom they wished to communicate. Moreover, let it not be forgotten that immense pecuniary resources were at the command of Bonaparte in Europe, and that, if unrestricted communication had been allowed, he might from St. Helena have been directing a vast conspiracy for another revolution in France, and furnishing the means for carrying its objects into effect.

If he had succeeded in making his escape the voice of indignant Europe would have cried shame on the lax custody of England; and who would then have dared to vindicate Sir Hudson Lowe from the charge of culpable remissness and gross neglect of duty? The case was well and forcibly put by Lord Bathurst when, in answer to Lord Holland's attack upon the Government in the House of Lords on the 18th of March, 1817,[1]—"Let them suppose that, instead of sitting to discuss whether a little more or little less restriction should be imposed, they had thus to examine Sir Hudson Lowe at their bar: 'How and when did he escape?' 'In the early part of the evening and from his garden.' 'Had his garden no sentinels?' 'The sentinels were removed.' 'Why were they removed?' 'General Bonaparte desired it—they were hateful to his feelings; they were then removed, and thus was he enabled to escape.' What would their Lordships

[1] See vol. ii. p. 341.

think of such an answer?" And what, we may ask, would Europe have thought, if escape from St. Helena had followed the escape from Elba, and Bonaparte had reappeared in France to light up the flames of civil war and involve the Continent in a conflagration?

If the facts contained in these volumes do not disprove the charge brought against the Governor of St. Helena of unfeeling harshness in the discharge of his duty, no mere assertion can or ought to have that effect. It is not difficult to account for the impression which has so long prevailed that he persecuted his captive with gratuitous annoyance, and showed towards him no mark of civility or attention, but treated his misfortunes with insult; for it is the studied object of the works of O'Meara, Santini, Las Cases, and Antommarchi, which have chiefly formed public opinion on the subject, to convey and confirm this idea. But is not the very reverse of this the truth? Was not Sir Hudson Lowe rather the object than the author of insult and provocation?

The French officers, writing under the eye and dictation of Napoleon, addressed to the Governor letters full of the most cutting sarcasm, as if for the very purpose of provoking him to reply in a manner unbecoming his position. As he himself once said in a letter to Earl Bathurst,—"Where the attack is all on one side, and the accuser thinks himself at liberty to use every weapon that falls under his hand, fair or foul, and has a shield in his own adversity against any arm but that of self-defence being raised to resist his blows, the contest has every advantage for him."

Bertrand, Montholon, and Las Cases gave themselves unbounded licence of misrepresentation in their correspondence with him. They did not hesitate to

distort the simplest facts, and in their adroit hands acts of kindness were made to assume the appearance of indignity and outrage. When, contrary to the strict letter of his duty, he allowed presents marked with the impress of an imperial crown to be sent to Longwood, but at the same time called attention in courteous terms to the irregularity of the proceeding, what was Count Bertrand's reply?[1] "The Emperor was surprised to find in your letter that you conceived it was your duty not to transmit these objects. 'If I acted,' say you, 'in perfect conformity with the established rules, I ought to delay sending them.' In that case, Sir, you would have done well to withhold them. . . . *The Emperor will not accept of favours from anybody*, nor be indebted for anything to the caprice of any one, but he claims to be made acquainted with the restrictions imposed upon him." When the Governor proposed to replace a temporary tent by the erection of a wooden saloon for the convenience of Napoleon, he was told that his offer was a mockery, and of a piece with the rest of his conduct since he had been Governor of the island. It would, however, be tedious to go through the catalogue of instances where his advances were repelled with contumely, and his desire to alleviate the discomforts of captivity was thwarted by the obstinate conduct of those who dreaded nothing so much as the having no grievance to complain of. It would, in fact, be giving a needless epitome of the evidence, which must be fresh in the recollection of the reader.

One word in conclusion. It has been hinted to the author that he has undertaken an ungracious and unpopular task:—ungracious, because it may have

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 154, 155.

the appearance of apathy towards the misfortunes of Napoleon to record the littleness of his conduct at St. Helena, and dispel the illusion that prevails on the subject of his confinement there;—and unpopular, because the public have made up their minds that Sir Hudson Lowe was unfit for the office which he held, and a defence of him may involve the writer who attempts it in some degree of odium.

Even if it were so I should not be deterred; but I have no such fears. It is time that the truth should be known, and it is never too late to repair a wrong. If injustice has hitherto been done, from the want of proper information and a too ready belief in the fictions contained in the works which treat of the Captivity, it ought to be a source of pure satisfaction to any man to be the means of remedying that injustice. I have too much confidence in that love of fair play which is one of the characteristics of Englishmen, to believe that they will be unwilling to change an opinion, unfavourable to the character of another, so soon as it is made clear to them that that opinion has been formed upon data which are incorrect. The worshippers of Napoleon may be offended when they see the heroic proportions of their idol disappear; but that is no reason why the veil should not be drawn aside, which has hitherto concealed its true dimensions from our view. It must not be allowed to cast its shadow over the reputation of others whose only offence was that they did not bow down to its influence, and offer the incense of flattery at its shrine, but firmly and faithfully discharged their duty to Europe and the world.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS,

IN THE NATURE OF

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. 118.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, Downing Street, Jan. 1, 1818.

I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your despatch No. 89, in which you transmit various communications which have passed between yourself and Count Bertrand relative to the restrictions imposed upon General Buonaparte and the possibility of admitting any further relaxation. His Royal Highness is happy to observe that, as the discussion originated in your offer of additional indulgences to General Buonaparte, so it has been marked throughout by a disposition on your part to adopt any arrangement which might be satisfactory to him, provided that it afforded no essential facilities for intrigue or escape. Nor does his Royal Highness see less reason to approve your forbearance in passing over without reply or comment those parts of Count Bertrand's verbal and written communications which, whether they be considered as the effects of his own irritation or of that of General Buonaparte, were as little applicable to the subject under discussion as they are on other grounds undeserving of any serious notice. From a review of the papers transmitted by you, it appears that the complaints advanced by General Buonaparte against the restrictions imposed upon him may be comprehended under two heads:—

1st. He complains that the contracted extent of the limits within which he may take exercise unaccompanied by a British officer, and the posting of sentries round Longwood at sunset,

debar him from taking exercise; and, 2ndly, that his intercourse with the inhabitants is subject to your intervention, and his correspondence with them subject to your inspection.

As Count Bertrand has admitted that the first head of objection has been obviated by your recent extension of his former limits for exercise, and by the other arrangements which you considered yourself authorised to adopt, it is not necessary that I should advert particularly to that part of the discussion further than to express my approbation of the relaxation in this particular to which you have, out of regard to the health of General Buonaparte, been induced to accede.

Considering it, however, not improbable that, notwithstanding the acquiescence of Count Bertrand in the existing arrangement with respect to the sentries, the posting of them at sunset may again be brought forward as a cause of complaint, I deem it advisable to acquaint you by this opportunity that the utmost degree of indulgence which can be consented to would be to defer posting them till 9 o'clock during the heat of the summer months, and that only under the condition that General Buonaparte should at that hour be seen by the officer at Longwood, with a view of insuring his being in the house at the time when the guards are stationed round it.

The second head of complaint, viz. the restrictions imposed upon his intercourse and correspondence with the inhabitants, is one upon which there can be but little prospect of satisfying all the pretensions advanced by Count Bertrand. It cannot escape your observation that, as these demands cannot be represented as interfering in any way with his taking exercise, his declaration that he would not take any unless they were conceded was an unworthy attempt to abuse the interest you had taken in the preservation of his health. With respect to correspondence, I confess that I see no practicable alternative but that of adhering to the regulations already in force or admitting an unrestricted communication between General Buonaparte and the inhabitants on all subjects and for all purposes. A permission to send and receive sealed letters, whether under colour of private business or under any other pretence, is incompatible with the situation of a prisoner of war, and is liable to the greatest objections, as such a relaxation of the existing rules would in effect be to abandon one of the best securities against a successful

attempt at escape. You will therefore on this point adhere to the instructions under which you have hitherto acted.

With respect to intercourse with the inhabitants, I see no material objection to the placing it upon the footing recently suggested by Count Bertrand, as it is one which he represents would be more consonant to General Buonaparte's wishes. The Count's proposition is that a list of a given number of persons resident in the island should be made out, who shall be at once admitted to Longwood on the General's own invitation, without a previous application being made to your Excellency on each invitation. You will therefore consider yourself at liberty to accede to the suggestion of Count Bertrand, and you will for this purpose direct him to present to you for your approbation a list of persons, not exceeding fifty in number, resident in the island, who may be admitted to Longwood at seasonable hours without any other pass than the invitation of General Buonaparte, it being understood that they are on each occasion to deliver in the invitation as a voucher, with their names, at the barrier. In giving your approbation to the list you will, as far as is consistent with your duty, consult the wishes of General Buonaparte; but you will let it be clearly understood that you reserve to yourself a discretionary power of erasing from the list at any time any of these individuals to whom you may have found it inexpedient to continue such extraordinary facility of access, and you will take especial care that a report be always made to you by the orderly officer of the several persons admitted to Longwood upon General Buonaparte's invitation.

With respect to the visits of strangers who may arrive at St. Helena, General Buonaparte has not expressed much solicitude for a change in the existing regulations. His reluctance to gratify the idle curiosity of strangers is a natural feeling, to which every attention should be shown; and it is satisfactory to know that under the existing regulations the General is protected from all rude intrusions of that description, as no stranger, although he has received your Excellency's permission, can be admitted at Longwood, unless he has received that of the General also. I am aware that in giving your permission you have shown great delicacy, but, after what has been again stated on this subject, you will, I am sure, be inclined to be still more select, confining the permission to those

whose situation, character, or acquirements are such as to render it probable that General Buonaparte might take an interest in their conversation.

It only remains for me to desire that you will take proper opportunity of making known to General Buonaparte the final decision upon the several points which you transmitted home for consideration. I shall be sincerely happy if the relaxations which you have already made, and which you are hereby authorised to make, should in any degree tend to reconcile General Buonaparte to the situation in which he is placed, and induce him to adopt a course of life more suited to his comfort and his health. But should he, as Count Bertrand has declared that it is his purpose to do, decline taking necessary exercise within the limits, which he now admits to be adequate, unless the restriction upon his correspondence is removed, His Majesty's Government will only have to regret that the attempts made to diminish the privations to which he is necessarily subjected should be frustrated by his own determination to impose upon himself restraints much more severe than any against which he has most vehemently remonstrated.

I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 119.

Lord Bathurst's Letters.

Sir, Downing Street, Jan. 1, 1818.

I have received and forwarded to the Earl of Liverpool the sealed packet enclosed in your despatch, which professes to contain the observations of General Buonaparte upon certain extracts from a report which appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' of a speech which I had occasion to deliver in the House of Lords upon the subject of his treatment at St. Helena.

Although Count Bertrand's conduct gave you fair reason to infer that the packet contained nothing upon which it could be necessary to require your observation or reply, and thereby induced you so far to deviate from your instructions as to transmit it unopened, yet, as it is found on perusal to contain a general complaint of your treatment of General Buonaparte, not only from the time of your arrival at St. Helena to the latest period to which anything I said could have referred, but continued by a note at the close of it up to the very day on which it was delivered to you, I consider it my duty, previous to my laying it before the Prince Regent, to transmit to you a copy by the first opportunity.

Had the General delivered the packet to you unsealed, as the regulations (he knew) re-

Notes approuvées par Napoléon.

(1) Le storeship le Barkworth a mouillé le 5 Mai en rade de Ste. Hélène, et le 9 Mai Sir Hudson Lowe a envoyé au Comte Bertrand sans lettre d'envoi les extraits ci-joints de la correspondance de Lord Bathurst.

(2) Le 7 Octobre, 1817, le Comte Bertrand a envoyé à Sir Hudson Lowe un paquet cacheté à l'adresse de Lord Liverpool. C'était les observations au discours que Lord Bathurst a prononcé au Parlement le 18 Mars, 1817. Ce paquet a été envoyé cacheté, parceque l'Empereur Napoléon avait ajouté ces mots: "J'approuve ces observations; je désire qu'elles soient mises sous les yeux du Souverain et des peuples d'Angleterre." Mais si Sir Hudson Lowe avait insisté pour que l'on l'ouvrit, le Comte Bertrand eût rompu le cachet en sa présence, et le lui eût remis ouvert. (3) Sir Hudson Lowe a pris connaissance de ce que contenait ce paquet; l'on en a des preuves. Ces observations n'avaient pas besoin d'être communiquées à Sir Hudson Lowe, puisqu'elles étaient une réponse à un

Sir Hudson Lowe's Observations on the Notes approuvées par Napoléon.

(1) The following is a copy of a note sent with the extract. The whole were put under cover to Count Bertrand:—

"Plantation House, May 9, 1818.

"The Governor has the honour of enclosing, for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte, the annexed extract from the instructions he has received by the last ship from England."

(2) On the subject of this note Sir H. Lowe referred to a correspondence between himself and Count Bertrand in October and November, 1817.

(3) This is a double falsehood. Firstly, Sir H. Lowe did not open this packet, nor did he obtain a knowledge of its contents in any other way; secondly, there do not nor cannot exist any proofs that he did. These

LORD BATHURST'S LETTERS—*continued.*

quired, for the purpose of being transmitted home, I should by this time most probably have been enabled to lay the charges and your answer fully before the Prince Regent. The delay which must now take place has been altogether occasioned by the disingenuous conduct which has been practised upon you; and although it is difficult to understand what advantage General Buonaparte could have expected to derive from it, if his object had been the fair investigation of his case, it will, I am sure, in the event of any other sealed letters being sent to you for transmission, prove to you the expediency of not permitting any feeling of delicacy to interfere with the strict execution of your instructions.

I have, &c.

BATHURST.

NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON—*continued.*

discours public tenu par le ministre au mois de Mars, 1817. Les volumineuses compositions d'injures, de calomnies, d'outrages contre les Français de Longwood, par chaque courier partant de Ste. Hélène pour Londres, ne sont pas communiquées aux Français avant que le Gouvernement Anglais n'en délibère. Une information faite par une des parties intéressées est un acte injuste, de lui-même nul. Si donc ces observations n'ont point été communiquées au Prince Régent, tant pis pour le Gouvernement Britannique, pour la nation Anglaise, pour sa Charte tant vantée et aujourd'hui si méprisée, et pour les libertés de son peuple. Car, certes, cela ne fut arrivé ni en Russie, ni en Autriche, pas même à Constantinople.

(4) Il serait juste que les plaintes des Français fussent remises décachetées à Sir Hudson Lowe, si les plaintes de Sir Hudson Lowe étaient communiquées avant leur départ de Ste. Hélène à un des officiers Français pour pouvoir noter les calomnies, les fausses-tés, et les mensonges.

SIR H. LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON—*continued.*

"Observations" were clandestinely conveyed to England, and published almost as soon as they reached the authority to whom they had been addressed; which, to use a remark of Napoleon Bonaparte, repeated to Sir H. Lowe by a person of his family, "could not have taken place in France under his government."

Fair investigation, it is evident, was not the object, but to excite public feeling on false grounds.

(4) There can be no analogy whatever between Sir H. Lowe's situation and that of the French officers at Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe's duties regard Napoleon Bonaparte, and not them. If they have been suffered to remain so long at St. Helena, it is solely from consideration towards him and their families, for their conduct has furnished at various times ample cause for removal. Sir Hudson Lowe need only refer on such occasions to their own letters, and to the clandestine communications that have passed in direct breach of the regulations, and of the conditions on

Colonial Office, Downing Street,
Jan. 1, 1818.

Sir,

I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your despatch No. 89, in which you transmit various communications which have passed between yourself and Count Bertrand relative to the restrictions imposed upon General Buonaparte, and the possibility of admitting any further relaxation.[1]

From a review of the papers transmitted by you, it appears that the complaints advanced by General Buonaparte against the restrictions imposed upon him may be comprehended under two heads.

1st. He complains that the contracted extent of the limits within which he may take exercise unaccompanied by a British officer, and the posting of sentries round Longwood at sunset, debar him from taking exercise; and, 2ndly, that his intercourse with the inhabitants is subject to your intervention, and his

which their residence has been permitted on this island. Vide copy of Count Bertrand's last letter of 22nd July, 1818, and the remarks addressed *to himself* in reply to it (G). These remarks prove that Sir H. Lowe has no occasion to use *secret* denunciation. They have never been replied to, except these Notes (clandestinely conveyed to Europe) are meant as a comment on them, which the time of their publication gives some reason to suppose.

[1] The following paragraph in Earl Bathurst's letter was omitted in these extracts:—

"His Royal Highness is happy to observe, that, as the discussion originated in your offer of additional indulgences to General Buonaparte, so it has been marked throughout by a disposition on your part to adopt any arrangement which might be satisfactory to him, provided that it afforded no facilities for escape."

LORD BATHURST'S LETTERS— *continued.*

correspondence with them subject to your inspection.

As Count Bertrand has admitted that the first head of objection has been obviated by your recent extension of his former limits for exercise, and by the other arrangements which you considered yourself authorised to adopt, it is not necessary that I should advert particularly to that part of the discussion, further than to express my approbation of the relaxation in this particular to which you have, out of regard to the health of General Buonaparte, been induced to accede.

Considering it, however, not improbable that (notwithstanding the acquiescence of Count Bertrand in the existing arrangement with respect to the sentries) the posting of them at sunset may again be brought forward as a cause of complaint, I deem it advisable to acquaint you by this opportunity that the *utmost degree of indulgence* which can be consented to would be to defer posting them till nine o'clock during the heat of the summer months, and that only under the condition that General Buonaparte should at that hour be seen by the officer at Longwood, with a view of insuring his being in the house at the time when the guards are stationed round it.

NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON— *continued.*

L'on sait enfin à Londres après deux ans, que dans ce pays l'heure de la promenade dans l'été est de 5 à 7 heures du soir. On revient donc sur la mesure de mettre des gardes à 6 heures du soir. Cependant il y a aujourd'hui 30 jours que cette lettre est communiquée à Longwood, et les sentinelles sont encore mises à 6 heures. (5) Sir Hudson Lowe, sans en prévenir, a donné la consigne écrite au corps de garde de laisser passer les Français jusqu'à 9 heures du soir, et verbalement il fait tous les jours donner la consigne de ne pas les laisser passer au-delà de 6 heures du soir. Sir Hudson Lowe va toujours son train. Il a donc des instructions confidentielles contraires aux instructions patentes!!?

SIR H. LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON—*continued.*

(5) This is another false statement. No such written order exists at the guard, or has been ever sent there, as to let the French pass until 9 o'clock at night; nor has any verbal order ever been given not to let them pass in after 6.

The sentries continue to be posted at a quarter of an hour after sunset, or before it begins to grow dark.

No person can pass *out* after they are posted.

Persons are allowed to pass *in;* but if they are not returned before dark it is a breach of regulation, and they are liable to be stopped accordingly. The instruction quoted speaks of the *summer* months. It was communicated to Napoleon Bonaparte in May (which corresponds to November in Europe), and he complains it was not acted upon in the next month, June (the middle of *winter*).

Count Montholon proposed to Sir H. Lowe that Napoleon Bonaparte might return by the

guard at the entrance of Longwood until 9 o'clock at night, instead of showing himself to the orderly officer on his return. Sir H. Lowe informed Count Montholon, Napoleon Bonaparte might return by the guard until 9 (leaving the sentries round the garden enclosure as before), but he has never sought to avail himself of this or any other latitude afforded to him. Sir Hudson Lowe proposed to extend his limits on giving a certain notice, but no answer was ever given.

When he consents to show himself to the orderly officer every night at 9 o'clock, the sentries during the summer months will not be posted until that hour; but until he does consent to show himself at that hour, pursuant to what Earl Bathurst's instructions prescribe, the sentries must continue to be posted a little after sunset, or before it grows dark, as heretofore.

The second head of complaint, viz. the restrictions imposed upon his intercourse and correspondence with the inhabitants, is one upon which there can be but little prospect of satisfying all the pretensions advanced by Count Bertrand. It cannot escape your observation, that, as these demands cannot be represented as interfering in any way with his taking exercise, his declaration that he would not take any unless they were conceded was an [1] attempt to abuse the interest you had taken in the preservation of his health.

[1] The word "unworthy" in the original was omitted in the extracts sent to Longwood.

LORD BATHURST'S LETTERS—*continued.*

With respect to correspondence, I confess I see no practicable alternative but that of adhering to the regulations already in force, or admitting an unrestrained communication between General Buonapante and the inhabitants on all subjects and for all purposes. A permission to send and receive sealed letters, whether under colour of private business or under any other pretence, is incompatible with the situation of a prisoner of war, and is liable to the greatest objections; and as such a relaxation of the existing rules would in effect be to abandon one of the best securities against a successful attempt at escape, you will therefore on this point adhere to the instructions under which you have hitherto acted.

NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON—*continued.*

(6) Quoi! un prisonnier de guerre, cantonné dans une ville d'Angleterre, de France, de Russie, d'Autriche, ne peut écrire, à son loisir, à son banquier, à son ami, à sa maîtresse, demeurant dans la ville où il est cantonné, sans que ses lettres soient visées par le gouverneur de la province! Le code n'est pas celui des gens, mais celui de Lord Bathurst, qui se connait mal en procédés et en honneur militaire. (7) Il est faux que cela puisse influer sur l'évasion: puisque l'on peut parler sans témoin aux habitants, il est sans danger de pouvoir leur écrire; le but de cette mesure, contraire à ce qui existait en 1815 et pendant le 1er semestre de 1816, est de vexer et d'injurier dans mille détails ignobles et bas. (8) Le Sieur Lowe aime beaucoup les bassesses: visiter le linge sale des dames de Longwood est pour lui une importante occupation.

SIR H. LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON—*continued.*

(6) Query, Whether to admit a sealed private correspondence, with which the Governor is to be unacquainted, in the island where Napoleon Bonaparte is confined, particularly with persons who do not reside within his limits, and cannot go near him but with a pass or under observation, may not be pregnant with as much danger as allowing sealed correspondence externally?

(7) If it was true they could speak to the inhabitants in every case without witnesses, where would be the cause of complaint on account of the proclamation? (Vide No. 10 of these articles.)

The fact is, except such inhabitants as actually reside within the limits, or are admitted within them on passes or business, Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers cannot speak to them unless in the presence of a witness, as whenever any of the followers go to the town, or elsewhere beyond their limits, they are accompanied, and consequently under observation; and further, should any individual who had not a special permission to visit at Longwood House, who might notwithstanding have been admitted on duty or business within the limits, or have his residence within them, be observed in the habit of frequently meeting and conferring either with General Bonaparte or his followers, without the Governor's knowledge or authority, or

his knowing the cause of it, the proclamation would be carried into force against him, either by a prohibition against such intercourse, by not suffering him to pass any more within the limits, or by restraining his communication except in the presence of an officer.

If sealed notes, however, were permitted, all such restraints, it is evident, might be rendered wholly inoperative, for there would be the means of communication even after a person was excluded from all opportunity of personal intercourse.

"Words fly, what is written remains," was the remark of a person living at Longwood who wanted to destroy a written document that tended to commit him. Words cannot reach, however, where persons cannot be spoken to, but what is written may fly.

(8) This is a contemptible slander, whether it applies to any instructions of Sir H. Lowe, or to the mode with which any person acting under his instructions may have executed them. The "bassesse" is in the mind of the person who could harbour the idea. Precaution may now however become more requisite in respect to examining the trunks in which linen is conveyed to the town.

(9) It will be observed by Earl Bathurst's instructions, Count Bertrand was desired to give a list of 50 persons: this list was never given. Sir H. Lowe proposed that Count Montholon should make out a list, and took with him the names of all the principal

(9) 50 personnes des principales de l'île et de l'armée doivent librement communiquer avec Longwood. Cela lève toutes les difficultés relatives aux passes. Mais aujourd'hui, 2 Juin, depuis un mois, non seulement cette disposition n'a pas été exécutée, mais Sir

With respect to intercourse with the inhabitants, I see no material objection to the placing it upon the footing recently suggested by Count Bertrand, as it is one which he represents would be more consonant to General Buonaparte's wishes. The Count's pro-

LORD BATHURST'S LETTERS — *continued.*

position is, that a list of a given number of persons resident in the island should be made out, who shall be at once admitted to Longwood on the General's own invitation, without a previous application being made to your Excellency on each invitation. You will therefore consider yourself at liberty to accede to the suggestion of Count Bertrand, and you will for the purpose desire him to present to you for your approbation a list of persons, not exceeding fifty in number, resident in the island, who may be admitted to Longwood at reasonable hours, without any other pass than the invitation of General Buonaparte; it being understood that they are on such occasions to deliver in the invitation, as a voucher, with their names, at the barrier. In giving your approbation to the list, you will as far as is consistent with your duty consult the wishes of General Buonaparte; but you will let it be clearly understood that you reserve to yourself a discretionary power of erasing from the list at any time any of those individuals to whom you may have found it inexpedient to continue such extraordinary facility of access; and you will take especial care that a report be always made to you by the orderly officer of the several persons admitted to Longwood upon General Buonaparte's invitation.

NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON — *continued.*

Hudson Lowe pour la braver a fait afficher la (10) proclamation ci-jointe. Le Colonel du 66e a reçu l'ordre de défendre à ceux de ses officiers qui avaient l'habitude, quand ils rencontraient la (11) Comtesse Bertrand sur la grande route, de s'entretenir avec elle, de cesser de le faire et d'éviter sa rencontre. En conséquence de cet ordre plusieurs personnes se sont détournées de la route ces jours-ci, tout en manifestant une grande indignation d'une aussi infâme conduite. L'Empereur est sorti de sa chambre pendant le mois d'Avril quatre fois pour passer une demi-heure sous un petit arbre à 30 toises de sa maison. (12) Sir H. Lowe en Mai a ordonné à un jardinier soldat du 66e et à un sergent piqueur d'ouvriers de le suivre de loin et de ne pas le perdre de vue lorsqu'il sortait dans son jardin, ce qui l'a obligé de cesser ce léger exercice. Le jardinier et le sergent d'ouvriers, au lieu de se borner à leurs fonctions, font ouvertement celles de soldats de police, et arrêtent sous les fenêtres même de Longwood des individus. Tel a été l'effet de l'arrivée des dépêches de Lord Bathurst, que, lorsqu'elles paraissent autoriser une société quelconque avec 50 personnes et des communications plus libres avec elles, Sir Hudson Lowe a doublé ses mauvais procédés. Il est donc confirmé dans sa méchante conduite par des instructions contraires aux patentes.

SIR H. LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NOTES APPROUVÉES PAR NAPOLÉON — *continued.*

officers and inhabitants, with their families, to assist him in making his selection; but this proposition has not been acted upon. The rules, in the mean time, as they at present stand, admit invitations being sent.

(10) The proclamation had nothing whatever to do with Earl Bathurst's instructions; it resulted from a circumstance detailed in the proclamation itself, which promulgated no new regulation whatever, but only enforced former ones. Napoleon Bonaparte's medical attendant had been employed clandestinely as a distributor of presents: this was detected, and gave rise, with other strong grounds, for the proclamation in question.

(11) This is another falsehood, conceived in the same spirit as that replied to in No. 8. The Countess Bertrand has never been the object of any order, suggestion, or desire whatever, [other] than that of being always treated with the respect and attention due to her sex and to her rank.

(12) These assertions are also false; no such orders were ever given, either by Sir H. Lowe or by any officer acting under his authority. An overseer of workmen, who is a sergeant, and a gardener, are employed about the house; and because Napoleon Bonaparte had been accidentally seen by these men, when he walked out or appeared at his windows, whilst he was industriously

With respect to the visits of strangers who may arrive at St. Helena, General Buonaparte has not expressed much solicitude for a change in the existing regulations. His reluctance to gratify the idle curiosity of strangers is a natural feeling to which every attention should be shown: and it is satisfactory to know that, under the existing regulations, the General is protected from all rude intrusions of that description, as no stranger, although he has received your Excellency's permission, can be admitted at Longwood unless he has received that of the General also. I am aware that in giving your permission you have shown great delicacy; but, after what has been again stated on this subject, you will, I am sure, be inclined to be still more select, confining the permission to those whose situation, character, or acquirements are such as to render it probable that General Buonaparte might take an interest in their conversation.

It only remains for me to desire that you will take a proper opportunity of making known to General Buonaparte the final decision upon the several points transmitted home for consideration.

Ceci est du persiflage. (13) Napoléon a désiré recevoir en société les officiers Autrichiens et Russes qui sont dans ce pays, la Baronne Stürmer, ainsi que les étrangers qui y relâchent, comme cela est arrivé pendant 1815 et 1816; (14) mais en 1817 et 1818 on a déclaré qu'on préférait ne recevoir personne à se soumettre aux formalités folles et avilissantes qu'avait inventées Sir Hudson Lowe, et surtout à ne recevoir que les individus qu'il plairait à cet officier d'envoyer, c'est à dire les personnes aveuglées par les faux préjugés qu'il avaient contre les Français; ce persiflage dans de pareilles circonstances est bien lâche.

Lord Bathurst est fort mal informé de ce qui se passe dans ce pays; cela est simple. Il n'est instruit que par la correspondance d'un agent infidèle, passionné, et ennemi déclaré, que le fiel étouffe.

(15) Les conversations que cet officier rapporte ne sont qu'un tissu de mensonges: la

seeking to avoid the observation of any English person whatever, it is that this complaint has been imagined. The gardener, however, was immediately removed in consequence of it.

(13) The Commissioners of the Emperors of Austria and Russia are here designated. Napoleon Bonaparte has refused to acknowledge or receive them.

(14) Sir Hudson Lowe has not made such distinction with respect to the strangers who arrived on the island. Napoleon Bonaparte has only admitted three English persons to see him during 16 months past, and each of these has been employed as an instrument for clandestine correspondence and communication, or been rendered subservient, to indirect views in this and other points. Napoleon Bonaparte has refused to see any other persons, or his followers have refused for him.

(15) Napoleon Bonaparte must feel some alarm at these reports of conversations, in

précaution de faire attester ses récits par un de ses affidés ne prouve rien et constate seulement son astuce. On a cent exemples de la tournure fausse que cet officier donne à tout. On en citera un seul. Le 2 Fevrier, 1818, quatre mois après qu'il eût lu les observations sur le discours de Lord Bathurst, il envoya sans raison au Comte Bertrand le récit d'une conversation qu'il avait eu, disait-il, en Mai, 1816, (16) avec Napoléon, sur la bâtisse d'une maison. Tout est faux dans ce récit, tout y est d'invention; c'est une effronterie sans exemple, dont le but était de pouvoir dire que cette fausse conversation, qui avait été une des bases du discours de Lord Bathurst, avait été mise sous les yeux du Comte Bertrand.

(17) M. Ellis a été présenté à l'Empereur Napoléon en Juillet, 1817: il n'a vu ni sa chambre à coucher, ni son intérieur; il n'a été question dans la conversation d'aucun objet contentieux sur Ste. Hélène. Le Comte de Montholon ne s'est entretenu avec lui d'aucun objet relatif à l'établissement de Longwood; et cependant M. Ellis, dans un ouvrage sur la Chine, s'est permis de s'établir juge dans toutes ces questions, comme s'il avait fait sur les lieux une enquête contradictoire sur les objets contestés. Il n'a pas honoré son caractère dans cette circonstance; il a menti à sa propre conscience pour plaire à son ministère: tout ce qu'il dit dans les

qualifying them, without knowing how they have been related, as lies. Whatever imperfect testimony the presence of a second person may afford, it is very much to be desired Napoleon Bonaparte himself would allow it to be had in his own case, where he complains of illness, and demands, with invectives, that sentries shall be removed, and other precautions for security loosened on such ground.

(16) Vide report of conversation annexed, Appendix H. It will be seen by this paper what cause of complaint Napoleon Bonaparte has had, of not having a house built for him in that part of the island of St. Helena which he might most prefer. No answer was ever received to the *written* memorandum delivered.

(17) Lord Amherst, whom Mr. Ellis accompanied, can best inform as to the conversation held to him by Napoleon Bonaparte upon the same day that Mr. Ellis was received.

I shall be sincerely happy if the relaxations which you have already made, and which you are hereby authorised to make, should in any degree tend to reconcile General Buonaparte to the situation in which he is placed, and induce him to adopt a course of life more suited to his comfort and his health. But should he, as Count Bertrand has declared that it is his purpose to do, decline taking necessary exercise within the limits which he now admits to be adequate unless the restriction upon his correspondence is removed, his Majesty's Government will only have to regret that the attempt made to diminish the privations to which he is necessarily subjected should be frustrated by his own determination to impose upon himself restraints much more severe than any against which he has most vehemently remonstrated.

I have, &c.

BATHURST.

quatre ou cinq paragraphes sur cet objet est controuvé, et n'a pas été écrit par sa plume.

Si l'Empereur ne sort pas depuis 24 mois que Sir Hudson Lowe est dans ce pays, c'est que cela lui a été impossible sans s'exposer à être victime des vues criminelles qui sont l'objet des méditations de cet officier. (18) Insulté par les sentinelles, cela eut provoqué des scènes qui eussent pu rejouir les libellistes de Londres à moins que le résultat en eut été tragique. Sir Hudson Lowe n'avait pas le droit de faire des restrictions, ni de changer ce qui existait lors de son arrivée. Le méchant caractère de cet officier est bien connu: s'il a le droit de faire des restrictions, ce que le bill n'accorde qu'au Gouvernement Anglais, il est démontré qu'il se plairait tous les jours dans de nouveaux outrages, à faire des restrictions nouvelles, inventer des conversations, et prendre de faux témoins. Napoléon a dû se renfermer dans les murailles de sa maison pour se mettre à l'abri des abus d'autorité de ce mauvais homme. Si le but de ceux qui ont envoyé Napoléon dans ce pays, le plus affreux et le plus insalubre de toute la terre, était douteux, le choix de Sir H. Lowe, sa continuation depuis trois ans dans ses fonctions, quoique cent officiers Anglais qui ont été dans ce pays aient dû et pu instruire le Gouvernement de son odieuse conduite, ne laisse aucun doute.

(18) Every sentry which could offend the view of Napoleon Bonaparte during the time of his taking exercise has been long since removed. The rest of this paragraph is beneath reply. Vide, notwithstanding, Sir H. Lowe's remark on the last paragraph of Count Bertrand's letter of 22nd July, 1818, referred to before.

It is to be observed, Sir H. Lowe has had no correspondence with Count Bertrand since this letter. The last personal communication with any officer of his staff was that with Major Gorrequer on the 12th April.

No. 120.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, January 20, 1818.

From the tenor of various communications I have recently had the honour to address to your Lordship, and wherein I have had occasion to speak of Mr. O'Meara, it will have been readily inferred there must have been a great dissatisfaction experienced in more than one instance at his general line of conduct. If I have hitherto omitted bringing forward all the circumstances which have given rise to the above feeling in respect to him, it has been because it is only recently I have been enabled to unravel the whole chain of his system of proceeding, and to ascertain, by force of interrogatories, those tangible points which most expose the principles upon which he has been acting; and because, though feeling no delicacy for some time past with respect to removing him from his present office, upon my own responsibility alone, founded on what your Lordship had already once written to me regarding him, I felt the real difficulty, in other respects, of reconciling this act with the regard and consideration which might be thought due to Napoleon Bonaparte; sensible I should expose myself to the most violent clamour, by depriving him of the only medical advice in which it would be stated he had confidence, and the deprivation of which might, with a person of his extremely obstinate mind, create a real injury to his health in the state he now is. The evil of his stay I have not, however, in any degree been less sensible of; but it is quite certain Napoleon Bonaparte would at present reject any medical officer recommended by me, whilst, if he was permitted himself to make a selection, it might only double any mischief that may spring from the communications he has had with the present one; and so long therefore as there appeared to me the possibility of reconciling the stay of Mr. O'Meara with any regard to the interests of the public service, any change which did not well provide against a recurrence of the same inconvenience (whilst it might on the other hand lead to greater, on account of the complaints that would arise if a specific cause was not assigned for his removal) presented no decisive advantage. As matters,

however, now stand, I should imagine his removal may take place consistent with the opinion of all parties, and, so far as I am individually concerned, I am willing to expose myself to all the responsibility, and inconvenience at the same time, which may attach to my recommendation of, or even decision on it.

I shall now take a review of Mr. O'Meara's line of proceeding from the first period of my acquaintance with him. The opinion given to me of him by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn was much in his favour. The punctuality and attention of his communications, and the readiness with which he gave information of everything which occurred under his observation at Longwood, evinced to me, that, though attached to Napoleon Bonaparte more apparently as his own domestic surgeon than as one placed near him by the British Government, he considered his duties as a British officer towards the latter paramount to every other consideration. Certain views, however, which I had taken of his character, would still have induced me to remove him upon my arrival at this island, had not the decided repulse of Napoleon Bonaparte to receiving the advice of Mr. Baxter, and the suspicions insinuated that I was sent out here to poison him, proved the difficulty I should have to encounter in placing any other person than Mr. O'Meara near him. Mr. O'Meara's conduct gave me no cause to repent of my not removing him, nor was my attention particularly called to any particular act of his until I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 12th of July, 1816, enclosing a copy of a letter which had appeared in the Portsmouth newspaper. My proceedings in this case have been already reported to your Lordship. The communication I had with him on this occasion brought forward the avowal that he had suffered Count Montholon to leave a copy of his letter to me with him, and that it had been in his possession for some days. His excuses and arguments did not in any degree exculpate him from this act, which gave, on the contrary, the strongest suspicion he was rendering his aid to the promulgation of the contents of that letter; but his delivering of it to me, and the communication at the same time of a "secret and confidential letter," addressed to him from a person in the Admiralty, encouraging his writing to England relations of his conversations with Napoleon Bonaparte, with the alarm he appeared to be in at having accepted

Count Montholon's letter, seemed to offer some pledge, in the discovery that had been made, for his future more correct line of proceeding. His conduct for a long time subsequent was conformable to this expectation; and your Lordship will have received various communications on subjects of great interest which it might have been difficult to obtain through any other channel. They came to me, I wish to observe, generally unsolicited, verbally repeated by Mr. O'Meara in the first instance, and, when afterwards committed to writing, always done for the purpose, as I acquainted him, of being sent home, very few indeed being the subjects of conversation introduced betwixt him and Napoleon Bonaparte that sprang from any suggestion whatever of mine; and amongst all the letters of which I have addressed copies to your Lordship from Mr. O'Meara, not one, as I believe (except those where it is so expressed to have been done), has thus originated, though a reference to my desire of his relating in writing (to which he never offered the slighest objection, but, on the contrary, appeared gratified with the idea of their being transmitted with his name to England) what he had before verbally informed me of may be frequently found in them.

It was shortly before and during the time of Count Las Cases' separation from Longwood Mr. O'Meara's communications were most frequent; but it was at this time also the principles by which he was guided began to create the strongest doubt. I had required him to present a report of the state of health of the son of Count Las Cases; he presented me one, recommending he should be sent to Europe, drawn out evidently in the spirit and designs entertained at Longwood; it occasioned two questions from me, which were answered by another letter equally in the same strain. It was impossible to misunderstand the view with which these reports were written; and, having had some conversation with him upon them, he was led to draw out a report more analogous to the strict line of his medical duty. It was of this latter report a copy was transmitted to your Lordship with my general ones respecting Count Las Cases. I need only enclose a copy of the first reports addressed to me, and request your Lordship to compare them with that of which I transmitted the copy to your Lordship, to point out how much Mr. O'Meara was then rendering himself

the instrument of Napoleon Bonaparte's views, and how strongly he was advocating the ground upon which the representations of Count Bertrand and Mr. O'Meara have been recently made to me with so much force respecting the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's own health. I might have been justified in removing him upon the receipt of these reports, viewing the spirit in which the first were written; still, to lay restraint upon his medical opinions in a case where the persons he was attending were speaking of life and death, at the moment when also there was ground for real anxiety regarding them, would appear an obnoxious measure. It was besides precisely at this moment Mr. O'Meara presented himself to me as the proposer of an intermediation between Napoleon Bonaparte and myself through Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm; that Napoleon Bonaparte was in the most humble and submissive mood he had shown himself since my arrival; and that a severe blow was at the same time experienced by him at the removal of Count Las Cases. He was at this time also ill, and to have removed Mr. O'Meara from him upon such a ground as that above referred to was not even practicable. The intermediation proposed by Mr. O'Meara fell to the ground from causes which are here briefly mentioned. The principal hindrances on my mind were,—1stly, The remarks Napoleon Bonaparte made on my first answer to his proposal, which Mr. O'Meara took down in writing and brought me a copy of, being in a style and spirit quite repugnant to his first communication; 2ndly, The observations communicated to me, signed in the name of Napoleon, upon the regulations of the 9th of October, concluding with an assertion of downright and positive falsehood, which I had fortunately the opportunity of proving to be so, by having seen a few days before a relation of the circumstances to which it referred, given in a directly opposite manner in a journal kept by Count Las Cases under the direction of Napoleon Bonaparte himself. I felt fully persuaded besides, from other causes, it was a relief from restraint, and not reconcilement, that was sought after; that the one would not follow without a sacrifice of my duty on the other; and, having rescinded the regulations most complained of, and taken up my stand upon those where I could not yield any further, until I had replied to the observations presented to me (in breach, as it appeared to me, of the

original proposal Mr. O'Meara brought); I determined to let matters take their ordinary course. Mr. O'Meara, who was very solicitous the intermediation should proceed, came frequently backwards and forwards to me upon this matter, saying Napoleon Bonaparte did not want me to make any reply to his observations, that he had merely sent them for my information; but I did not choose such a paper should go without an answer. As for intermediation, there could be no necessity for it in what I might myself be disposed to yield without it, and to this opinion Napoleon Bonaparte himself assented; I had sufficient motive therefore in this, and in the remarks and observations of Napoleon Bonaparte before adverted to, for not following the course which he and Mr. O'Meara had wished me to pursue, the result of which I was well persuaded could produce no advantage to me, whilst it might give rise to false hopes, and create consequent disappointment, to Napoleon Bonaparte himself. As Mr. O'Meara has appeared since the departure of Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm to lay great stress on my not having gone on with the negociation of which he was the first proposer, I have on this account introduced the above remarks regarding it.

Early in the month of June, 1817, happening to go to Longwood, and seeing Mr. O'Meara, he related to me a piece of news of which he had just informed Napoleon Bonaparte, respecting the dissolution of the French Chambers A vessel had arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and Sir Pulteney Malcolm had sent me a Cape newspaper, containing the account of Lord Exmouth's victory, but no other paper was mentioned, nor any other news; I learnt however he had received an English paper of late date. I wrote a note to him, of which a copy, with the answer, is enclosed. I hoped, by the mode of suggestion adopted in my note to the Admiral, to attain the object I had in view without speaking to Mr. O'Meara himself. I found afterwards, however, Mr. O'Meara still continued in the habit of delivering papers to Napoleon Bonaparte which he had received from Sir Pulteney Malcolm. Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer, had been also requested to deliver some, and referred to me. I caused it to be communicated to him as a general rule, without reference to the name of any particular individual, that he was to deliver no papers but those which

came through me. He mentioned this order to Mr. O'Meara, who still, however, continued upon his own authority to deliver papers which he had received from the Admiral; but having upon one occasion thought fit to carry up with him two papers of a later date than any I had myself received, which the postmaster had shown to the Admiral, and then delivered to Mr. O'Meara, I thought further delicacy was out of season, and spoke both to the postmaster and Mr. O'Meara very particularly on the subject. They attempted to justify themselves on the ground that such things had been permitted to be done during the time of Sir George Cockburn, without referring to the want of analogy between his particular situation and that of his naval successor. Upon this occasion I particularly questioned Mr. O'Meara upon the mode in which he had communicated the news about the dissolution of the French Chambers. It was impossible to obtain from him any direct reply; that is, whether he delivered the paper which contained the news to Napoleon Bonaparte, or merely repeated it from memory (the difference not material when it is considered that the news was mentioned to Napoleon Bonaparte before it was made known to me). The whole I could obtain from him was, he could not say positively that he had *not* delivered the paper. He did not know in what newspaper he had seen it, but had delivered newspapers which he had received from the Admiral on that same day to Napoleon Bonaparte,—Portsmouth ones. Napoleon Bonaparte, upon the question from Mr. O'Meara, thought it was *verbally* he had heard the news; Count Montholon thought he first saw it in the 'Times;' in short, the memory of all had failed on this occasion; and Sir Pulteney Malcolm himself, who had stated to me in the first instance that the paper which contained the news (a Scotch one) had been *mislaid*, afterwards informed me he had *destroyed* it, on account of a letter which had appeared in the same paper from an officer of his ship, which, as it was written from this island, it would have been improper I should have seen.

To discuss such matter with Mr. O'Meara, who was a naval surgeon, borne as supernumerary of the Admiral's ship, or with the Admiral himself, your Lordship will feel must have been a matter of great delicacy; but it was invariably latterly in such kind of dilemmas I found myself placed. Upon the newspapers

arriving here with the reports of your Lordship's speech in Parliament, Mr. O'Meara came almost immediately afterwards to me to communicate the remarks which Napoleon Bonaparte had made upon it. Upon questioning him if he had repeated them anywhere else, he said, "*At the Admiral's*," confining himself however, as he informed me, to the mere mention of Napoleon Bonaparte having said there were untruths in the speech. I blamed him for having repeated the remark at all; he evinced great insensibility to my observations in this as well as in every other instance since the occasion of his delivering up to me Count Montholon's letter, when he appeared in some degree sensible of the error he had committed,—latterly, however, affecting to treat it as a trifle, and justifiable on the mere ground of curiosity alone. I am thus particular in referring to the above circumstances, as I conceive they have had a decided influence upon the line of conduct Mr. O'Meara has been since pursuing, trusting to a degree of support in a channel where finally I feel certain it will be found to fail him, particularly when a knowledge is obtained of the circumstances which will be hereafter referred to.

The next instance to notice was on my receiving Count Bertrand's letters in the month of July last, when, observing the falsity of some information they had received at Longwood respecting my preventing the man who had brought the bust of Napoleon Bonaparte's son from landing on the island, I requested Mr. O'Meara to ascertain by whom such information had been given, saying, at the same time, I had received two very extraordinary letters from Count Bertrand, which I feared would compel me to take some strong measure regarding him, but not charging him to repeat this at Longwood; on the contrary, desiring him to confine himself solely to the inquiry I had requested him to make as to the person who had given the information. Mr. O'Meara on this occasion expressed his regret I had not gone on with the intermediation he had proposed through Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and brought forward, to my surprise, several arguments to prove I ought to have done so. He spoke also very freely upon other points,—of your Lordship's speech in Parliament, of no answer having arrived to the proposal of Napoleon Bonaparte's assuming an incognita name, of his complaints about the restrictions he was under,—

the whole matter of which, except in what relates to the proposal about assuming an incognita name, which was not again brought forward, will be found fully detailed in various conversations where, to obtain a knowledge of his opinions and sentiments, or rather of those entertained at Longwood (which he appeared to me only to repeat), I renewed the topics with him until I was enabled to fully develop the train of argument and thinking which influenced his line of conduct. The memoranda[1] which accompany this letter give every detail on the subject. Your Lordship will not fail to observe in the earliest of them the insidious manner in which Mr. O'Meara obtained my reception, as from himself, of a paper in which he had taken down some grossly insulting expressions of Napoleon Bonaparte in respect to me, and, after hearing my remarks upon it, carried these back as a reply to him; when on my seeing Mr. O'Meara the next day he acquainted me that Napoleon Bonaparte had charged him to deliver this paper to me, wishing then to make it a matter of official communication by suggesting I should address Count Bertrand upon it. It was upon this occasion I declared to him he had not my authority for conversing with Napoleon Bonaparte on any other subject than his medical duties; that I did not order him not to reply when he spoke to him, but he must in such case act upon his own responsibility. Your Lordship will also observe the indifference marked by Mr. O'Meara in respect to continuance in his situation, appearing to me in fact frequently to act upon a system of provocation which might compel me to a forcible removal of him. To all hints, however, of his desire or his readiness to quit his situation I always replied by saying, if he would write to me on the subject and apply to be removed I would take it into consideration, but would act upon no verbal communication.

The avowal of the pledges given to Napoleon Bonaparte, and their concealment from me, which forms the subject of a further report, will however present the best means to form a conclusive judgment upon the whole of Mr. O'Meara's proceedings.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

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[1] Notes of the Governor's conversations with O'Meara in July, August, and October, 1817, and in January, 1818.

No. 121.

To Lieut.-General Sir H. Lowe, K.C.B.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, Downing Street, January 23, 1818.

You had some time since occasion, in a private letter to Lord Bathurst, to allude to a correspondence carried on by Dr. O'Meara with an individual in the Admiralty, the object of which was to convey to this country, otherwise than through your intervention, reports of the conduct and observations of General Buonaparte, so far as they were of a nature to excite interest. Lord Bathurst thinks it proper that you should be informed that this correspondence is still kept up, and that it is so with his Lordship's knowledge; for as the letters received from Dr. O'Meara are regularly submitted to Lord Bathurst's perusal, he has thought it advisable not to do anything which, by driving Dr. O'Meara to seek another channel of correspondence, might deprive Lord Bathurst of the knowledge of its contents, and of the objects with which it is evident that his communications are made. I am sure you know enough of Lord Bathurst to be perfectly assured that he would not permit his opinions to be improperly influenced by the representations which might be made in a correspondence of this description.

Believe me, my dear Sir, ever yours most faithfully,

Henry Goulburn.

No. 122.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, January 25, 1818.

I do myself the honour to inform your Lordship that, having met with considerable difficulty, particularly since the commencement of the month of October last, at which time Napoleon Bonaparte began to confine himself to his room, to obtain any satisfactory information respecting him, even from Mr. O'Meara, who, in the capacity of surgeon, was the only British subject who had a ready access to him, and who before

this period had never appeared to hesitate in fully communicating to me any particulars of which I might desire to be informed, I became strongly impressed with the idea of some secret engagement or understanding betwixt Napoleon Bonaparte and him, which prevented information being afforded me, as had been heretofore done. I had, it is true, before this period, declared to Mr. O'Meara he had not my authority for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte upon any other subject than that of his medical duty, and that, if he replied to him on other points, the responsibility must rest upon himself; but this did not appear to be considered by him as containing that species of prohibition which prevented him from hearing or speaking of other matters, as will be apparent by reference to a communication he made to me on the 16th of September, as well as by replies he has at various subsequent times made to me, when I have asked him questions about his conversations, and he has said, "*Nothing important, nothing interesting,*" proving sufficiently, however, he continued his communications with Napoleon Bonaparte upon other topics than those of his medical duties, guided by no other rule than his own discretion.

I have already had the honour to make known to your Lordship the interdict which Napoleon Bonaparte placed him under in the middle of October, of transmitting any written bulletins of his health to me, unless under circumstances which might have rendered them subservient to Napoleon Bonaparte's particular designs. I had before an instance, in a report addressed to me by Mr. O'Meara respecting the health of the son of Count Las Cases, as well as on other occasions respecting Napoleon Bonaparte himself, in what degree he could render a medical report subservient to a particular object; and therefore, as your Lordship has already been advised of, decided upon demanding from him no written reports at all, under the forms it was desired to present them to me, but desired the continuance of his verbal information, to which Napoleon Bonaparte had not objected.

Mr. O'Meara from this period continued giving verbal information, sometimes to Mr. Baxter, sometimes to myself, respecting the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health; but whenever interrogated upon any point whatever, which might throw a light upon the particular design or object of his (Bona-

parte's) shutting himself up, or upon any question whatever which had relation to my duties with Napoleon Bonaparte, or to Mr. O'Meara's communications on other subjects than those of his profession, he either maintained a most absolute silence, or sought to evade any positive answer; whilst every information respecting the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health was very seldom given uncalled for, and generally only obtained from him by a long series of questioning. A direction I gave him to communicate the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health to the orderly officer at Longwood (with whom Mr. O'Meara lived) met with compliance only once in a week or ten days; and Mr. Baxter experienced that kind of delay in receiving information on that subject, that I was compelled to address a direction through him to Mr. O'Meara to give his information more frequently uncalled for; but a degree of reluctance being still apparent, I found it necessary, at Mr. Baxter's suggestion, to desire he would attend regularly twice a week at my office, to meet Mr. Baxter there, and give the information desired —information, after all, only drawn from one source, and which fails, consequently, in all the requisites for establishing a legal and judicial opinion.

In a letter I addressed to Count Bertrand on the 18th of November I referred to what Mr. O'Meara had said to me on the subject of the interdict which Napoleon Bonaparte had placed him under. A few days afterwards, on the 25th of November, finding that Mr. O'Meara had been a long time with Napoleon Bonaparte on the preceding days, sometimes more than an hour together, I asked him what was the subject of his conversations; his reply to me was, "Nothing interesting, nothing particular, nothing of sufficient importance for me to be informed of; that sometimes he did not speak twelve words in an hour." Mr. O'Meara added, he did not wish to put any questions to him, but confined himself to *medical subjects*, as he had been desired by me. I asked him if nothing had been said to him on the subject of the letter I had written to Count Bertrand, in which his name had been mentioned? "Nothing." The question was put and repeated in several forms, and always the same reply. Did he know that such a letter had been written? "Yes." Then he must have heard it from some other person. Madame Bertrand had mentioned such a

letter had been received; her husband was sent for by Napoleon Bonaparte just as he had received it; he opened it, but left her before he had read it; she did not know, therefore, what its contents were. This letter Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer, had sent in to Count Bertrand when he was with Napoleon Bonaparte. The particulars thereof, as related by Mr. O'Meara, were at variance with what Captain Blakeney had told me, and the natural inference I drew from this was, that Mr. O'Meara had either seen the letter, or knew more about it than what he stated to me. I had therefore cautioned him against suffering himself to be drawn into the perusal of any correspondence betwixt Napoleon Bonaparte and myself, without my knowledge; but not making any remark whatever on this head, I simply confined myself to comment on the mystery and concealment he was practising in every point, when, with an extreme of effrontery, to which I consider he must have been instigated either by Napoleon Bonaparte himself or the persons of his family, he told me he would not be a spy or a "mouton." The signification of the latter term was unknown to me. I asked him the meaning of it; he replied, "a person who insinuates himself into the confidence of others, for the purpose of extracting information or secrets from them, and then repeats it."

The use of any cant French term at all, in a reply to me, when questioning him on a point of duty, from a person in Mr. O'Meara's situation, was in itself an act of disrespect; but the signification given to it, after the reply referred to in the first part of his conversation, viz. "*that he confined himself to medical subjects as I desired him*," I could regard in no other light than as an act of deliberate insult, and therefore desired him immediately to quit the room; telling him at the same time, were it not for consideration of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, he should not stay an hour longer in the island. As there was no possibility of obtaining any information of Napoleon Bonaparte's state of health from any other person than Mr. O'Meara, without the use of force, I still continued to require his attendance at my office.

The stream of his information, which had flowed so fully, naturally, and without any solicitation, during so long a period, on many other points, had however suddenly dried up, and it

was with difficulty an answer could be obtained, even to the most common question, which his means of observation more than that of any other person enabled him to reply to. I was still more and more convinced of the existence of some collusion, and on the 18th of December, after a series of questions put to Mr. O'Meara, whether he had pledged his word of honour or not to Napoleon Bonaparte upon any point connected with his medical duties, I put the question to him, whether he had pledged his word to secrecy upon any other subject. He affected for some time to consider all the questions as relating to his medical duties alone, but at last confessed he had pledged himself to Napoleon Bonaparte in the following terms—viz. not to reveal the conversations that passed between themselves, except they had a tendency to his (Napoleon Bonaparte's) escape—last May was a twelvemonth.

A memorandum is enclosed of the conversation that passed upon this occasion, which terminated, as a former one had done, by my directing him to quit the room. Five days after I received a letter from him, of which copy is enclosed. As there is not a paragraph in it in which some remarkable omission, perversion, or grossly disrespectful insinuation is not manifest, and as silence might lead to misconstruction, I determined on directing a full reply to be sent, of which a copy, as written to Mr. O'Meara by Sir Thomas Reade, is also transmitted. I believe to have developed in it the real facts and real grounds on which his statement stands, and can appeal with more confidence to your Lordship's judgment of his conduct, by reference to the statement contained in a letter written to himself, and to which consequently he can if he pleases reply (through the means I have indicated to him), than to any other form or representation I could adopt.

I certainly, in the mean time, consider it the severest tax upon the due and satisfactory performance of my duties on this island, to be compelled to bear with the further residence here of this person, who, being perfectly aware that delicacy and consideration for the situation of Napoleon Bonaparte will at the present moment prevent my removing him, thinks he can act with the greater liberty; and I cannot dissemble from your Lordship, at the same time, the almost absolute nullity of all restrictions upon communication or correspondence with Napo-

leon Bonaparte, where a person of Mr. O'Meara's turn of mind and disposition is permitted to remain near him; for by the pledges given he has set himself above all authority whatever, even that of Government, as to the restrictions which Parliament has authorized it to place on Napoleon Bonaparte, by arrogating to himself the liberty of a secret and wholly unrestrained intercourse upon every other point than that alone which stands declared to be a felony, trusting to his own subtilty, or that of his advisers, for an escape from prosecution or pursuit on any other point.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 123.

À M. le Général Comte de Montholon, Chambellan, etc.

Longwood, Février 4, 1818.

J'avais oublié vos anciens torts, Monsieur, ou, plutôt, je vous les avais pardonnés. J'espérais que vous changeriez; je me suis trompé. Vous paraîssez destiné à me nuire dans toutes les circonstances. Avant que vous ne fussiez avec l'Empereur, depuis long-temps j'étais bien avec lui; depuis que vous y êtes j'y suis mal. Vous êtes la cause des mauvais traitemens dont il m'accable; ils sont devenus tels qu'il ne m'est plus permis de les supporter sans me déshonorer. C'est vous, Monsieur, qui êtes la cause de tous mes malheurs; je vous en demande satisfaction. J'espère que vous savez pourquoi j'ai différé jusqu'à ce jour. Parce que j'ai souffert on pourra apprécier l'attachement que j'avais pour l'Empereur. Vous avez cru triompher en me réduisant à cette dure extrémité de partir. Vous avez cru que mon départ serait attribué au manque du courage nécessaire dans une situation comme la mienne ici; vous avez cru que cela vous ferait valoir davantage; vous qui restez—vous qui n'éprouvez que de bons traitemens, &c.: vous voilà détrompé. Forcé de me séparer de l'Empereur, à qui j'avais sacrifié toute mon existence, pour qui j'ai tout perdu, je ne partirai qu'après m'être vengé du succès de vos intrigues et de vos manœuvres; ou bien je tomberai sous vos coups, mais du moins d'une manière plus honorable et plus digne d'un homme de cœur que celle que

vous avez employée jusqu'ici ; et quelque soit mon sort, j'emporterai l'estime de tous les honnêtes gens. Voilà, Monsieur, comme je veux quitter Longwood.

GÉNÉRAL GOURGAUD.

P.S. Je suis en droit de choisir les armes ; je vous laisse cet avantage, mais, vu les circonstances où nous nous trouvons, il est, je crois, nécessaire de nous concerter sur les autres dispositions. Je vous prie, donc, de me dire où nous pourrons avoir une entrevue à ce sujet.

À MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL GOURGAUD, CHEZ LUI.

Longwood, Février 4.

J'ai reçu votre lettre, Monsieur. Plusieurs fois depuis dix-huit mois nous nous sommes mutuellement provoqués. L'Empereur, en ayant été instruit, a exigé ma parole d'honneur que je n'accepterais aucun cartel tant que je serais près de lui. Effectivement tout duel entre nous serait un grand scandale et un surcroît d'affliction à ajouter à sa position. Dans d'autres circonstances, quand je serais libre de ces devoirs, j'accepterai votre cartel.

LE COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

À MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

Février 4, 1818.

Il me semble, Monsieur, que s'il était vrai que l'Empereur eût exigé votre parole d'*honneur* de n'accepter aucun cartel, il aurait aussi exigé votre parole d'*honneur* que vous vous conduisiez en honnête homme ; car vous avouerez qu'il y aurait eu de la lâcheté d'en avoir agi comme vous l'avez fait avec moi, lorsque vous pensiez n'avoir rien à craindre. Réfléchissez, je vous prie, à tout le mal que vous m'avez fait. Vous parlez de scandale, pourquoi le provoquez-vous ?

LE GÉNÉRAL GOURGAUD.

P.S. Je vous renouvelle encore la demande d'une entrevue.

No. 124.

Au Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Général, Longwood, Février 8, 1818.

Depuis la maladie grave que j'ai essuyée ici il y a deux ans, ma santé a toujours été plus ou moins chancelante. Très-souvent j'ai été tourmenté par de nouvelles attaques de dyssenterie, et de mal au foie; à ces peines physiques se sont jointes des peines morales. J'ai éprouvé de grands chagrins; leur influence m'a été fatale; elle a détruit le peu de santé qui me restait, au point que je suis forcé de vous prier de vouloir bien faciliter mon retour en Europe, où l'air de ma patrie et les soins de ma famille soulageront tous mes maux. J'ose espérer, Monsieur le Général, que vous aurez de moi assez bonne opinion pour croire que je n'agis ainsi que par les motifs les plus puissants. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

Le Général Gourgaud.

P.S. Je vous serais bien obligé si, en attendant mon départ de l'île, vous pouviez me placer dans un autre lieu que Longwood; je crois que le changement d'air me ferait du bien.

À l'Empereur Napoléon.

Sire, Longwood, Février 11.

Au moment de m'éloigner de ce séjour j'éprouve un sentiment bien douloureux. J'oublie tout; je ne suis occupé que de la pensée que je vais me séparer pour jamais de celui à qui j'avais consacré toute mon existence. Cette idée m'accable; je ne puis trouver de consolation que dans la persuasion où je suis que j'ai toujours fait mon devoir. Je cède à la fatalité! Dans mon malheur j'ose espérer, Sire, que vous conserverez quelque souvenir de mes services et de mon attachement, que même vous rendrez justice à mes sentimens et aux motifs de mon départ, et qu'enfin, si j'ai perdu votre bienveillance, que je n'ai pas perdu votre estime. Daignez, Sire, recevoir mes adieux, et agréer les vœux que je fais pour votre bonheur. Plaignez mon sort, et qu'en pensant quelquefois à moi votre Majesté dise, "Celui-là, au moins, avait un bon cœur!"

Je suis, &c.,

Général Gourgaud.

M. le Général Baron Gourgaud, Février 12.

Je vous remercie des sentimens que vous m'exprimez dans votre lettre d'hier. Je regrette que le mal du foie, qui est si funeste dans ce climat, ait nécessité votre départ. Vous êtes jeune, vous avez du talent, vous devez parcourir une longue carrière; je désire qu'elle soit heureuse. Ne doutez jamais de l'intérêt que je vous porte.

NAPOLÉON.

No. 125.

AU PRINCE METTERNICH.

Mon Prince,

Le Général Gourgaud part aujourd'hui pour l'Angleterre sur le Camden. Depuis qu'il a quitté Longwood il est venu me voir presque tous les jours. J'ai mis à profit ses visites pour me procurer de nouveau détails sur Bonaparte et son existence à Ste. Hélène. Voici, mon Prince, le résumé des conversations que nous avons eues ensemble:—

"*Qu'a dit Bonaparte de la mort de la Princesse Charlotte?*" —"Il l'a regardé comme un malheur de plus dans sa position. Tout le monde sait que la Princesse de Galles a pour lui une admiration presque fanatique. Il espérait que lorsque sa fille serait montée sur le trône elle profiterait de l'empire qu'elle avait sur elle pour le faire transporter en Angleterre. 'Une fois là,' disait-il, 'je suis sauvé.' Il m'a dit, en apprenant cette nouvelle, 'Eh bien, voilà encore un coup imprévu; c'est ainsi que la fortune déjoue tous nos projets.'"

"*Parle-t-il quelquefois de son avenir?*"—"Il est persuadé qu'il ne restera pas à Ste. Hélène, et s'obstine à croire que le parti de l'opposition parviendra à l'en tirer. Il paraît n'avoir pas renoncé pour toujours à remonter sur le trône. 'Si je reviens en France,' m'a-t-il dit, lorsque nous nous sommes séparés, 'venez me trouver; je vous accorderai de nouveau ma protection,'"

"*Que pense-t-il des Bourbons?*"—"Il prétend que Louis XVIII. est révolutionnaire, et que par sa conduite il s'expose aux plus grands dangers. 'Ce n'est pas ainsi,' dit-il, 'que s'opèrent les changemens de dynastie; la prudence voulait qu'il se défît de tous mes maréchaux. Il fallait mettre hors d'état

tout ce qui n'était point de son parti.' Labédoyère et le Maréchal Ney n'étaient pas seuls dangereux.'"

"*Parle-t-il de sa femme et de son fils?*"—"Il se plaint de Marie Louise. Selon lui, elle n'aurait jamais dû quitter Paris en 1814. 'Au lieu de Madame de Montebello c'était,' dit-il, 'Madame de Beauveau que j'aurais dû placer auprès d'elle; elle l'aurait dirigée autrement, et les choses n'en seraient pas là.' Il est persuadé qu'il serait encore sur le trône s'il avait épousé une Grande Duchesse de Russie. Il parle souvent de son fils, surtout depuis quelque temps."

"*Qu'a-t-il dit de l'affaire du Colonel Latapie, et de cette prétendue tentative de l'enlever?*"—"Il dit que cela peut être vrai, mais qu'il connaît ces gens-là, que ce sont des aventuriers, et que jamais il ne se serait confié à eux."

"*Pensez-vous qu'il puisse s'échapper d'ici?*"—"Il en a eu dix fois l'occasion, et il l'a encore au moment même où je vous parle."

"*Je vous avoue que cela me paraît impossible.*"—"Eh! que ne fait-on pas quand on a des millions à sa disposition? Au reste, quoique j'aie à me plaindre de l'Empereur, je ne le trahirai jamais. Je le répète, il peut s'évader *seul* et aller en Amérique quand il le voudra; je n'en dirai pas davantage."

"*S'il le peut, que ne le fait-il? L'essentiel est d'être hors d'ici.*"—"Nous le lui avons tous conseillé. Il a toujours combattu nos raisons et y a résisté. Quelque malheureux qu'il soit ici, il jouit secrètement de l'importance qu'on met à sa garde, de l'intérêt qu'y prennent toutes les puissances de l'Europe, du soin que l'on met à recueillir ses moindres paroles, &c. Il nous a dit plusieurs fois, 'Je ne peux plus vivre en particulier; j'aime mieux être prisonnier ici que libre aux Etats-Unis.'"

"*Continue-t-il à écrire son histoire?*"—"Il en écrit des fragmens, mais il est probable qu'il ne l'achèvera jamais. Quand on lui demande s'il ne veut pas que l'histoire le peigne tel qu'il a été, il répond qu'il est souvent plus avantageux de se laisser deviner que de se mettre trop à découvert. Il paraît aussi que, ne regardant pas ses grandes destinées comme finies, il ne veut pas dévoiler des plans dont l'exécution n'a pas été entièrement achevée, et qu'il peut reprendre un jour avec succès."

"*Qui de vous a rédigé la fameuse lettre de M. de Montholon?*"—"L'Empereur lui-même. Il nous en a dicté la plus

grande partie. Il serait heureux qu'il s'en fût tenu là, mais vous verrez incessamment paraître à Londres de prétendues lettres écrites par des capitaines de vaisseaux marchands, et dans lesquelles on parle beaucoup de l'Empereur. Elles sont de lui. Le style en est plat, les détails puérils, la conception mauvaise. Vous aurez peine à croire, par exemple, que l'ouvrage publié sous le nom de Santini était de lui. Il se fait par là beaucoup plus de tort qu'il ne croit; mais personne ne peut le guérir de cette manie d'écrire. En général, ce n'est ni Bertrand ni Montholon qu'il fallait à l'Empereur. C'était le Duc de Rovigo, le Duc de Bassano, des hommes à caractère, en un mot, qui l'eussent empêché de faire des sottises. Combien n'en avons-nous pas fait depuis que nous sommes ici!"

"*Comment est-il dans son intérieur?*"—"Excellent avec ses domestiques; cherchant à donner du relief à tout ce qui l'entoure, élevant très-haut les petits talens de ceux qui en ont, et en prêtant à ceux qui n'en ont point."

"*Quelle est son attitude avec les personnes de sa suite?*"—"Celle d'un souverain absolu. Je l'ai souvent vu jouer cinq heures de suite aux échecs, et souffrir que nous fussions de bout pendant tout ce temps à le regarder."

"*Comment Madame de Montholon est-elle parvenue à lui plaire?*"—"Elle joue la femme savante, sait assez bien l'histoire de France, et ne cesse de répéter à l'Empereur que l'on devrait guillotiner tous les jours quatre-vingt Parisiens pour les punir de l'avoir trahi, que la France mérite d'être vingt fois plus malheureuse qu'elle ne l'est, &c. Il écoute tout cela avec plaisir." Agréez, mon Prince, je vous prie, l'hommage de mon respect.

STÜRMER.

No. 126.

À MONSIEUR LE LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Avril 13, 1818.

Le Docteur O'Meara m'a fait connaître hier qu'en conséquence d'un ordre émané de vous il était contraint de quitter cette île. A cette occasion j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de considérer que Monsieur O'Meara nous a été donné par votre Gouvernement sur notre demande, et comme nous tenant lieu d'un médecin Français; qu'il a notre confiance; que l'Empe-

reur est malade depuis sept mois d'une maladie chronique de foie, mortelle dans ce pays, et qui est occasionnée par le défaut d'exercice, qu'il n'a pu prendre depuis deux ans, par l'abus que vous avez fait et que vous faites de vos pouvoirs; que les choses en sont arrivées au point que le malade a besoin d'être soigné tous les jours; que depuis deux ans vous avez voulu chasser Monsieur O'Meara pour le remplacer par Monsieur Baxter; que, malgré vos instances réitérées, l'Empereur s'est refusé à recevoir le médecin qui lui inspire une invincible répugnance. Considérez que, si vous ôtez Monsieur O'Meara sans le remplacer par un médecin Français ou Italien déjà connu, vous obligez le Prince à mourir, privé de tout secours. Il y est résolu. Son agonie en sera plus douloureuse; mais les peines du corps sont passagères, tandis que l'opprobre qu'une conduite aussi féroce imprimera sur le caractère de votre nation sera éternelle. Je suis chargé, 1, de déclarer que le Docteur O'Meara est le seul médecin de ceux qui sont sur ce rocher en qui le malade ait confiance; 2, de protester contre son renvoi, de quelque prétexte qu'on cherche à le colorer, à moins qu'il ne soit la conséquence d'un jugement légal.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 127.

A MONSIEUR LE LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Avril 24, 1818.

Lorsque le 12 Avril j'ai été instruit par le Docteur O'Meara qu'il cessait ses fonctions de médecin près l'Empereur Napoléon, je me suis empressé de faire dire au Major Gorrequer que je le priais de passer chez moi, ayant des communications de la plus haute importance à lui faire. J'ai dit à cet officier que j'avais eu intention de lui faire connaître combien nous avions été peinés de ce qu'on eut ôté la fourniture des vivres à la maison Balcombe, que le voyage du chef de cette maison à Londres ne peut pas être une raison pour lui ôter son emploi, puisque le service a toujours été fait par ses associés, Messieurs Fowler et Cole, et que Monsieur Balcombe ne s'en est jamais mêlé directement; mais que la communication que

je venais de recevoir du Docteur O'Meara était d'une tout autre importance, que l'Empereur ne pouvait pas rester un jour sans le secours de Monsieur O'Meara. Le lendemain, 13, j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire la même chose. J'espérerais avoir une réponse dans la journée même; nous sommes aujourd'hui le 24, et je n'en ai aucune. Voilà donc douze jours que l'Empereur est privé de toute assistance de la médecine. Au mois d'Octobre il fut quinze jours sans voir le Docteur O'Meara, lorsque vous élevâtes l'étrange prétention de lui imposer l'obligation de faire des bulletins sous votre dictée, et sans qu'ils fussent au préalable soumis à l'Empereur et l'original laissé dans ses mains; mais alors sa maladie était à son commencement, et aujourd'hui elle est déjà avancée. Le Comte de Montholon, qui loge dans le même corps de bâtiment que l'Empereur, m'a fait connaître que le 18, et aujourd'hui, 24, il a été éveillé à deux heures du matin par le valet-de-chambre de l'Empereur, et est resté à côté du lit de ce Prince, depuis deux heures jusqu'à cinq heures du matin, témoin de ses souffrances, sans y pouvoir porter aucun adoucissement. Vos restrictions du 10 Avril sur Longwood ont, donc, déjà produit l'effet le plus funeste. Je réitère, donc, ma demande que vous restituiez le Docteur O'Meara à ses fonctions, en cessant de le vexer et de lui faire essuyer de mauvais traitemens, en levant les restrictions contraires à ce qui a existé depuis trois ans, auxquelles il ne veut ni ne peut se soumettre sans se déshonorer. Enfin quelques raisons que vous puissiez alléguer, songez, Monsieur, aux conséquences de prolonger l'état actuel, et de priver l'Empereur du médecin de son choix sans avoir pourvu à son remplacement conformément à ma lettre du 13 Avril. Si vous persistez à le faire, cet act arbitraire sera caractérisé par l'Europe, par votre nation, et même par votre Ministre. J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 128.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Dear Sir, Downing Street, April 30, 1818.

A considerable period having elapsed since any supply of clothing was sent out for the use of General Buonaparte, Lord

Bathurst has directed me to draw your attention to this subject, in order to prevent the possibility of the original stock being exhausted before a fresh supply was placed at your disposal. From the temper which General Buonaparte has so frequently shown on similar subjects, it is not improbable that he might be disposed to conceal from you the deficiency of any articles, either of necessity or comfort, with a view of making that deficiency hereafter a subject of remonstrance and complaint, and Lord Bathurst therefore considers it advisable that you should adopt any measure which you may consider calculated to obtain satisfactory information as to the state of his wardrobe, &c., in order that, if deficient in any essential article, that deficiency may be speedily supplied, and that no means should on your part appear to have been omitted for contributing everything that may be necessary for his convenience or comfort.

I have the honour, &c.,

HENRY GOULBURN.

No. 129.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, May 5, 1818.

I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your several despatches, to No. 121 inclusive. It appears clear, as well by General Gourgaud's confession as by other intelligence which I had received, that a clandestine correspondence to a considerable extent is carried on by the inhabitants of Longwood, and, as there is little or no communication between Buonaparte and any individual in the island, this evasion of your regulations must be effected by the opportunities which Generals Bertrand and Montholon and the servants of the establishment of Longwood enjoy of having frequent intercourse not only with those who visit Longwood but with the other inhabitants of the island; it will therefore be necessary to introduce restraints on a liberty which it is evident has been so much abused, and I have great satisfaction in thinking that you may apply these restraints to the followers of General Buonaparte without extending them to him, as you must, I am sure, always feel a great reluctance to impose any additional

restrictions upon him, though there is undoubtedly not the same delicacy with regard to his followers and servants, whose residence on the island is voluntary, and for whose intemperate and unbecoming conduct there is not the same allowance to be made. You will therefore, upon the receipt of this despatch, impose such restrictions with respect to the communications between General Buonaparte's followers and the inhabitants of St. Helena as may appear to you necessary to prevent the continuance of any clandestine correspondence. If they shall remonstrate against these additional restraints being applied to them, unless they are also extended to General Buonaparte, and represent that they have only bound themselves to submit to such as were established with regard to him, you will inform them that if they do not submit to them you must interdict all intercourse between them and General Buonaparte, adding, however, that you will not object to forward any representation which they may think proper to make to the British Government, provided that they conform to the regulation which prescribes that the letter be sent to you unsealed.

I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 130.

AU DR. O'MEARA.

Monsieur, Longwood, ce 9 Mai, 1818.

Depuis le mois d'Octobre vous avez cessé de faire des bulletins, ce qui a donné lieu d'en faire de faux. L'Empereur désire que vous ne rendiez compte à qui que ce soit de l'état de sa santé, si ce n'est au Gouverneur, s'il le requiert—surtout que vous n'en parliez à aucun médecin; et, pour couper court à tout ce tripotage, que vous rédigiez toutes les semaines, et plus souvent si cela est nécessaire, un bulletin de sa santé, dont vous me remettrez l'original, et dont vous pourrez envoyer la copie au Gouverneur s'il le désire. Aussitôt que vous m'aurez répondu sur cet article vous pourrez reprendre vos fonctions de médecin de Napoléon, qui en a besoin, puisque la restriction du 10 Avril est levée, et que vous agissez volontairement et sans y être contraint. J'ai, &c.,

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 131.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, May 16, 1818.

I have every reason to believe, from the information given by General Gourgaud to Mr. Goulburn, of which the substance is communicated in my despatch No. 9, that the health of General Buonaparte has not been in any essential manner impaired by his residence at St. Helena; that the swelling of the legs has not been more frequent or more extended than what at times he has been accustomed to, and that the accounts therefore which Mr. O'Meara has furnished are very fallacious. The manner in which you represent that General Gourgaud received your inquiries after General Buonaparte's health induced Mr. Goulburn to make more particular inquiries on this subject at his first interview with General Gourgaud, and the determination which General Buonaparte has shown not to admit the visit of any medical person on whose ability and integrity a reliance would be placed, or, indeed, to be seen by any English, except Mr. O'Meara, at the times when his health was stated to be most affected, strongly confirms the truth of General Gourgaud's intelligence.

It is unnecessary to examine whether Mr. O'Meara has been induced to give these fallacious reports from professional ignorance, or from a blind devotion to the wishes of General Buonaparte. I am however disposed to attribute it to the latter motive, more especially as the positive refusal of General Gourgaud to acquit him of being privy to that clandestine correspondence which has for so long been carried on between Longwood and Europe (although he at the same time distinctly acquitted him of all knowledge of certain other criminal transactions) gives me too much reason to believe that, as far as relates to correspondence, Mr. O'Meara, if he has not been entirely employed by General Buonaparte, has at least readily connived at this breach of the existing regulations. He is, at any rate, unfit to continue near the person of General Buonaparte, and I have therefore no longer that repugnance which you know I have hitherto felt to resist his being withdrawn from his attendance on General Buonaparte, and interdicted

all further interview with the inhabitants of Longwood. Admiral Plampin will receive the necessary instructions as to Mr. O'Meara's future destination.

On the removal of Mr. O'Meara you will direct Dr. Baxter to give his medical attendance to General Buonaparte whenever it may be required, and will particularly instruct him on all occasions to consider the health of General Buonaparte; you will not fail to acquaint him at the same time that, should he have reason to be dissatisfied with Dr. Baxter's medical attendance, or should prefer that of any other professional man on the island, you are perfectly prepared to acquiesce in his wish on the subject, and to permit the attendance of any medical practitioner selected by him, provided that he conform strictly to the regulations in force.

I have only to add that you cannot better fulfil the wishes of his Majesty's Government than by giving effect to any measure which you may consider calculated to prevent any just ground of dissatisfaction on the part of General Buonaparte on account of any real or supposed inadequacy of medical attendance.

I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 132.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, Downing Street, May 18, 1818.

My private letter of the 29th ultimo will have explained to you what induced me to withhold my consent to your proposition that Mr. O'Meara should be removed from Longwood. The information, however, given by General Gourgaud has altered the case, and I have now no longer any difficulty in giving you the instruction to withdraw him from a situation for which he has shown himself so unfit. I do not think you will be authorized in seizing his papers, but you may, if you think proper, send for him, and announce to him the purport of my instruction, and, having done so, you may forbid him seeing either General Buonaparte or any of General Buonaparte's followers, except in the presence of a British officer; and you may forbid him returning to Longwood after he has once gone back and left it.

I hope my despatch respecting Rosemary Hall may reach you before you have completed the purchase. General Gourgaud considers Longwood as the situation the best adapted for "*surveillance;*" and the restrictions which you will feel yourself authorised to impose upon General Buonaparte's followers will, I trust, obviate the objections which it appears you had begun to entertain against it. As General Buonaparte will not avail himself of the liberties he has, he may be safely left in full possession of them; and, indeed, in his situation he will not have so much facility of abusing them. It is the followers of Buonaparte through whom all the clandestine correspondence is carried on, and there is nothing in their characters or situations which requires you to show the same indulgence towards them, or need deter you from imposing any restriction which is necessary; I am sure you will have no inclination to do more.

We must expect that the removal of Mr. O'Meara will occasion a great sensation, and an attempt will be made to give a bad impression on the subject. You had better let the substance of my instruction be generally known as soon as you have executed it, that it may not be represented that Mr. O'Meara has been removed in consequence of any quarrel with you, but in consequence of the information furnished by General Gourgaud in England respecting his conduct.

I am yours very sincerely,

BATHURST.

No. 133.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, Downing Street, May 23, 1818.

Lord Bathurst is apprehensive that he has not explained to you with sufficient precision one point connected with the additional restrictions which he has authorised you to impose upon the followers and servants of General Buonaparte, and has therefore directed me to state that, his object being not to impose any further restraints upon General Buonaparte himself, but to restrict the intercourse carried on with the inhabitants of St. Helena by his followers and servants, he is desirous that you should not enforce any restrictions against them when in com-

pany with General Buonaparte which may be made by him a ground for refusing to take exercise, or which may be justly represented by him as diminishing the degree of liberty in this respect which he at present enjoys.

I have the honour, &c.,
HENRY GOULBURN.

No. 134.

To MAJOR GORREQUER.

Sir, Longwood, July 10, 1818.

The progress of hepatitis, with which Napoleon Bonaparte has been affected for some months, having increased in a manner alarming to me, I commenced administering mercurial preparations to him on the 11th of June last, which were continued until the 29th, when, in consequence of effects produced by the humidity of the season,[1] and also perceiving that nervous irritability was produced by the use of it, I judged it proper to discontinue the remedy; but having, on the 2nd of July, observed that the above-mentioned appearances were ameliorated, I commenced mercurials anew, which produced a considerable degree of nervous agitation, and last night especially he was very ill. This morning I was called at half-past five by the valet-de-chambre to see him. Finding him in an alarming state, I explained to him as forcibly as I could the necessity of calling a consultation, and proposed to send for the two first medical persons in the island, viz. Mr. Baxter and Mr. Stokoe. He manifested a repugnance to call in Mr. Baxter, but he at last authorised me to send for Mr. Stokoe, for which purpose I wrote him a letter on the spot, and awoke Captain Blakeney in order to have it sent and to procure him a pass. Since that time I have seen him three times, and have found considerable debility to prevail. Mr. Stokoe came up about three o'clock, not with a view of entering into a consultation, or seeing Napoleon Bonaparte, but to excuse himself upon the plea of the responsibility being too great, and not wishing to run the risk

[1] In his Journal of the 27th of June (*Voice*, vol. ii. p. 412) O'Meara attributes Bonaparte's illness not to the "humidity of the *season*," but to the extreme "humidity of *his rooms!*"

of getting himself into any scrapes. He had also some conversation with Count Bertrand. My chief reason for calling on Mr. Stokoe was to obtain his opinion relative to the propriety of continuing the mercurial treatment. I am not apprehensive of any immediate danger of his life, and the question hung upon the treatment it was advisable to pursue, on one side to guard against the deleterious effects of the remedy upon the delicacy of his organs, and, on the other, the necessity there was of administering it in a manner so as to effectually eradicate the disease. I must beg therefore to remain at Longwood to-morrow, and, indeed, not to leave it until he recovers from effects caused chiefly by debility and the administration of the mercury necessary for the cure of the complaint. I beg of you to submit the above for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor, and remain Yours, &c.,

BARRY O'MEARA.

No. 135.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON.

Sir, Plantation House, July 12, 1818.

Having understood, by a report received from Mr. O'Meara, that, in consequence of the serious indisposition with which Napoleon Bonaparte was affected on the morning of the 10th instant, he had acceded to a suggestion of Mr. O'Meara for calling in other medical advice, and, although then unwilling to receive Mr. Baxter, had consented to see Mr. Stokoe, surgeon of H.M.S. Conqueror, but that Mr. Stokoe, for reasons which I have had no opportunity to inform myself of, except in a general manner from Mr. O'Meara, had declined entering into consultation with him on the occasion, I feel myself impelled to intrude upon you with these lines, both as a matter of duty, and as arising from an earnest and sincere desire to contribute every possible means in my power for affording relief, to again offer the assistance of Mr. Baxter, or of any other medical person in this island whose opinion there may be a disposition to consult. I feel the less hesitation in making this offer as Mr. O'Meara, though he has not had recourse to what is considered as the first medical advice in this island, viz. that of Mr. Baxter or Dr. Kay, has asked the opinion of another medical person,

who has been in frequent attendance on the families at Longwood, viz. Mr. Livingstone, and as the complaint with which he has stated Napoleon Bonaparte to be affected is, I understand, of a nature where any delay in having recourse to the best medical advice which can be obtained may be attended with very serious consequences. In taking the liberty of submitting a selection from among different persons I would not wish however to be considered as holding any balance of opinion in my own mind, for, setting apart any pretension arising from the superior professional rank he holds, I strongly recommend Mr. Baxter for his professional skill, and for the strength and decision of his judgment, in any case of doubt or difficulty, persuaded his advice is that which would give the most satisfaction. I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 136.

To Admiral Plampin.

H.M.S. Conqueror,
Sir, St. Helena, July 13, 1818.

His Excellency the Governor having done me the honour to show me Mr. O'Meara's letter, wherein he states my objections to visit General Bonaparte, and finding his statement not sufficiently explanatory of my motives, I beg that you will be pleased to communicate to his Excellency those I made to you when I had the honour to receive your commands to proceed to Longwood, viz., to visit him alone would place me in an extremely delicate situation, and would attach a degree of responsibility which I was unwilling to take upon myself, but that I should be happy to share it with any other medical man who might be permitted to see him. I have, &c.,

John Stokoe, Surgeon.

No. 137.

À Monsieur le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Juillet 20, 1818.

Aujourd'hui sont arrivés à Longwood Monsieur le Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster et Monsieur Jackson pour faire les fonc-

tions d'officier d'ordonnance. Nous n'avons eu jusqu'à cette heure qu'un officier d'ordonnance; c'est une nouveauté fort désagréable que d'en avoir deux. Nous avons reconnu avec surprise que le Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster est le même qui a commandé à Ajaccio, ville où est située la maison paternelle de l'Empereur. Il a des raisons pour le considérer comme un ennemi personnel. Il a en conséquence refusé de le recevoir pendant trois ans qu'il est dans ce pays. J'ai fait connaître par son ordre cette circonstance à cette officier en l'engageant à suspendre sa prise de possession, parce qu'il ne pourrait faire ici qu'un mauvais service. Jusqu'à cette heure l'officier d'ordonnance a été un Capitaine bien famé du régiment. Lorsque le 53me est parti, vous avez remplacé le Capitaine Poppleton par le Capitaine Blakeney, qui jouissait d'une excellente réputation. Je vous prie, Monsieur, si vous ne voulez pas encore empirer beaucoup la position des choses, de faire un choix également honorable dans le régiment qui est ici en garnison. Vous connaissez l'état fâcheux de santé où s'est trouvé ce Prince dans les mois de Mars et d'Avril. Il a sorti quelquefois à trente pas de sa maison pour s'asseoir sur le banc que vous avez envoyé. Il y restait une heure, respirait le plein air. Cela lui faisait du bien. Vous avez ordonné au jardinier soldat du 66me d'arrêter qui lui conviendrait sous les fenêtres même de l'Empereur, ce qu'il a fait. De domestique vous l'avez ainsi converti en agent d'exécution; cela avait plus d'inconvénient encore que de mettre des sentinelles sous ses fenêtres. Depuis ce temps, c'est à dire depuis cent jours, il n'est plus sorti de ses murs, et n'a plus mis la tête à la fenêtre. Comme le médecin insiste tous les jours pour qu'il respire au moins une heure par jour l'air libre pendant les bons intervalles de sa maladie, je vous prie, Monsieur, d'ôter ce soldat jardinier et de le remplacer par un jardinier qui n'ait aucune autre fonction que sa fonction domestique. Le sergent d'ouvrier paraît être investé du même pouvoir. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de le remplacer ou de lui défendre de s'occuper de rien autre chose que de ses fonctions d'ouvrier. Aujourd'hui le choix de l'officier d'ordonnance sera une raison de plus qui empêchera ce Prince de sortir, et dans ceci, comme dans toute autre chose, je réclame à qui existait avant toutes ces innovations. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 138.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, July 21, 1818.

I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your several despatches, to No. 135 inclusive. The only point upon which I deem it necessary to give you any particular instructions is, with respect to the more frequent intercourse which has latterly taken place between the Commissioners of the Allied Powers resident at St. Helena, and the attendants of General Buonaparte. It is impossible to read the correspondence which you have transmitted, without observing that the effect of that more frequent communication between the Commissioners and Longwood has been to excite in the breast of General Buonaparte and his followers a greater disposition to resist your authority and to subject you to insult. It appears evident that they have misconstrued the desire which the Commissioners have naturally, although somewhat indiscreetly, evinced, to partake of their society, into an approbation of their conduct towards you; and, thinking that they might rely upon the Commissioners' protection, have at once given a freer scope to their insolence and falsehood, and a more determined opposition to your proper authority. Independent of what is due to you as Governor, it is for the interest of General Buonaparte that this conduct on the part of his attendants should not pass without observation, as, if continued, it would necessarily lead to their removal. I am far from imputing to the Commissioners, individually or collectively, the least intention of encouraging this disposition on the part of Generals Bertrand and Montholon, and give entire credit to the representations which they have from time to time given you of the real character of this intercourse; but I know that Generals Bertrand and Montholon give a very different report of what passes on those occasions; and the effect of this unrestrained intercourse with those persons has evidently been to excite in them a belief that their disrespect towards you is not disapproved by the Commissioners. Having seen the instructions given to the Russian Commissioner, and having no reason to believe that the instructions given to the two other Commissioners are less

favourable to the consideration due to your authority, I certainly had hoped that your intimations and representations on this subject would have been more attended to; and I still flatter myself that it will not be necessary for you to act upon this instruction; but if unfortunately you should not receive satisfactory assurances from the Commissioners, you will in that case acquaint them that the Prince Regent has deemed it necessary to place their intercourse with Longwood, as private individuals, under restrictions similar to those which exist with respect to others; and in announcing to them that they will in future enjoy no greater liberty in this respect than is allowed generally to British military officers, you will explain to them the grounds upon which His Royal Highness has thought it incumbent upon him to adopt this determination. You will, however, in that case, distinctly understand and explain to the Commissioners, that the instruction which I am now conveying to you applies only to the Commissioners in their private capacity; and that if at any time General Buonaparte shall consent to receive them as Commissioners of the Allied Powers, under the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, you will not oppose any obstacle to their visiting Longwood for the purpose of being presented by you as such to General Buonaparte.

I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 139.

To EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, July 27, 1818.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer at Longwood, having completed the term of a year on that duty, applied to me to be relieved from it. Although unwilling to dispense with his services, I could not refuse his application, and it became therefore necessary for me to look out for a successor. The greater number of the captains of the 66th Regiment were married men, and had families; and those who were not so were not sufficiently acquainted with the French language to offer an advantageous selection. The sending an officer of my own

staff would, I knew, have been only treated as an outrage; my thoughts turned, therefore, on a person who I conceived was one of the last on the island against whom any plausible ground of objection could be formed—Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, Inspector of the Island Militia.

In order to relieve him, however, from a part of his duty, I resolved to place near him Lieutenant Jackson, of the Royal Staff Corps, whom I knew to be perfectly agreeable to the residents at Longwood, to attend upon them when beyond their limits; following in this respect a course which had been before pursued during the time Major Poppleton was orderly officer, when he was assisted in such duty by an officer of dragoons. Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster was well acquainted with French and Italian, the languages spoken at Longwood; a man of the best temper, the kindest and most inoffensive of dispositions. He had no predilection for the situation when I offered it to him, and only accepted it because he hoped to render service in it; resolved to spare no pains whatever by which he might add to the comforts of the detained persons and their families, and conciliate the execution of his duties with all possible regard to their feelings. No other form was requisite on my part than that of acquainting them of Captain Blakeney's departure, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster's appointment; but I thought it right to give a few days' previous notice, in order that if there was any objection it might be made known to me. I therefore wrote a note on the 16th of July to Count Bertrand, of which copy is enclosed, and on the next day received an acknowledgment for it. Four days elapsed before Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster went to Longwood to relieve Captain Blakeney, and during this time no shadow of objection appeared likely to arise against him; on the contrary, Count Bertrand sent for Lieutenant Jackson, and, as if already considered to be assisting the orderly officer in his duties, asked him to carry a message to me, which strictly ought not to have been sent but through Captain Blakeney. Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster's arrival at Longwood was followed, however, by the most distinct hostility. I had hardly received the report of his arrival there, and of his first visit to Count Bertrand (of which copies accompany), before a letter was forwarded to me from Count Bertrand, with another from Colonel Lyster, of which

copies are also transmitted. I sent an answer to Count Bertrand's letter the next morning. The following day I received a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, stating the refusal of Mr. O'Meara to give him the simple information if he had seen Napoleon Bonaparte, and at the same time declining to answer as to the state of his health, although a few days before he had stated it to me, as a reason why he did not give the orderly officer information, that he did not ask it of him. The same day brought me another letter from Count Bertrand, which I resolved to send back to him, with such remarks as the false assertions it contained appeared to me to call for. At the time this letter was sent to me, Mr. O'Meara was equally active as Count Bertrand in his hostility against Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster; for the following morning, the 23rd, I received a report, with copies of a correspondence that had passed between them, to which reference will be hereafter made. I had already, pursuant to your Lordship's instruction, determined on Mr. O'Meara's removal from this island, and wanted not this fresh motive to hasten his departure; but it was not until the 25th instant, from other business intervening, I was enabled to make the necessary arrangement, and fix the time of his removal. I was just on the point of sending my orders for this purpose, when I received a letter from Count Bertrand, of which copy accompanies. Your Lordship will judge how extremely disconcerted I must have been at the *contretemps* produced by Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster's personal quarrel with Count Bertrand. I had shown to him, it is true, what the Count had said in his letter with respect to him, because I saw no motive for concealing what was said from any officer employed on so delicate a duty as that Colonel Lyster had to execute, conceiving that whatever irritation might have been felt would have been controlled at least during the time *he might continue* in attendance on duty at Longwood. I did not, however, perhaps, sufficiently calculate on the feelings of an officer whose character through life had passed without reproach, and who was wholly unused to the style of language by which the persons at Longwood have made it their invariable endeavour to irritate and to provoke. The step Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster had taken, of challenging Count Bertrand, and the manner in which he spoke of Napoleon Bonaparte himself,

however great the provocation might have been, and whatever allowance I might be inclined to make for the feelings of Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, it was impossible for me to approve; nor could I suffer it even to remain as a matter of the least doubt or suspicion that my decided interposition would not be immediately used for the protection, not only of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, but for that of any person who was under detention with him, from any act of personal violence or hostility in the circle of his own residence, which I considered as much a place for his protection as for his security, beyond which he had no other asylum to look for. I had used means of interference even to prevent his peace being disturbed by a quarrel amongst his own followers; I therefore addressed an immediate reply to Count Bertrand, of which copy is annexed, returning at the same time his letter of the 22nd instant, with my remarks upon it. I was directly afterwards waited upon by Lieut.-Colonel Lyster himself, who I found had addressed a second letter to Count Bertrand, who had not however judged it expedient to forward it to me. It appears likely he had not thought proper to send Lieut.-Colonel Lyster's first letter until he had received the second, which must have rendered him naturally apprehensive of some still more unpleasant consequence than what the first letter had threatened to produce; but the steps I had taken for Lieut.-Colonel Lyster's removal, prevented of course anything whatever occurring between them. I did not fail to express to Lieut.-Colonel Lyster my displeasure at his having had recourse to such a violent measure, particularly whilst on duty at Longwood, as also for the manner in which he had referred to Napoleon Bonaparte himself. I signified to him at the same time that he was not to return to Longwood, and I again sent Captain Blakeney thither. I have since received a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, in explanation of his conduct, which, with the enclosures referred to in it, I have the honour to forward for your Lordship's more full information. I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 140.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, July 30, 1818.

I do myself the honour to enclose to your Lordship a memorandum which has been furnished to me by Lieutenant Jackson, of a conversation which occurred between Count Montholon, Dr. Verling, and himself this day. It appears to me altogether of a very remarkable nature, certainly seeming to imply some change in Napoleon Bonaparte's disposition, particularly as to the point of contenting himself with other medical advice than that of Mr. O'Meara, even should a French or Italian surgeon not arrive here. I shall endeavour to take some steps upon this matter immediately after Mr. O'Meara's removal.

With respect to what Count Montholon observed about my having committed myself in a moment of anger, I can with confidence appeal to Admiral Plampin, Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham, and every officer of my staff, that there was nothing of momentary anger in the deliberation that was taken on the subject of Mr. O'Meara's removal, but that it was decided on two days before it took place, viz. the 23rd July, upon grounds which appeared to all who were spoken to on the subject of a nature to render any delay inexpedient, if not improper; in fact, I believe to have had more doubts myself than any other person. With regard to removing Mr. O'Meara a month sooner or a month later, there has been no period for some time past, that the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health had been spoken of so favourably as the last time I addressed Mr. O'Meara on the subject. His replies indicated an alteration for the better, though not a permanent one.

I had no other authority than Mr. O'Meara's that Napoleon Bonaparte was taking any medicine; and at a moment when Mr. O'Meara's removal was looked for, and particularly when (as there is reason to suppose by his having thought fit to remove part of his baggage) he had himself received some intimation on the subject from England, it is not likely that such a ground for not immediately removing him as that of Napoleon Bonaparte requiring medicine in some form or for some complaint or other would ever have been wanting.

The refusal, however, of Mr. O'Meara to deliver up his

medical journal, and his ready connivance with the views of Napoleon Bonaparte to prevent me from satisfying myself, through any person of my own confidence, of the actual state of his health, and the exclusion thereby of every means by which legal or well-authenticated proof could be obtained to justify me, supposing any consequence to result from my placing too implicit a reliance on Mr. O'Meara's statements, he withholding at the same time the only document in his possession which could give any real weight to them, will, I feel assured, exonerate me from that blame which Count Montholon has conceived I shall be exposed to, even if my proceedings had not been based on your Lordship's instruction to me.

It is remarkable that Count Montholon does not attempt to dispute the propriety of my removing Mr. O'Meara. His argument only applies to the moment of it. In fact, my letter of the 26th instant, where I say, if Mr. O'Meara's medical attendance is so desirable, it is to be lamented he did not combine it with more respect and obedience to the regulations of his Government in other points, and that his last act was a breach of order and disavowal of authority, remains without reply.

With respect to what Count Montholon said on the subject of restrictions, I shall consider what can be done, but I fear this is a point upon which considerable difficulty may present itself; none, however, which there shall be any want of a real endeavour on my part to remove, where it can be done consistent with the primary object of my duty.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 141.

A Monsieur le Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Juillet 24, 1818.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer une lettre que je reçois.[1] Le vieillard me paraît en démence. Il ne peut avoir connaissance de ma correspondance officielle que par vos ordres. Je ne lui réponds ni ne lui répondrai. Il n'est qu'un man-

[1] The letter here alluded to was that from Colonel Lyster, containing a challenge to Count Bertrand. Vide pp. 33-36, *ante*.

dataire, et si son principal officier général veut me demander raison je suis prêt à lui faire honneur.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 142.

À MONSIEUR LE LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Juillet 26, 1818.

Le Docteur O'Meara a quitté hier Longwood, forcé de laisser son malade au milieu du traitement qu'il dirigeait. Ce matin ce traitement a cessé—ce matin un grand crime a commencé d'avoir exécution. Les lettres de Monsieur le Comte Bertrand des 13, 24, 26, et 27 Avril dernier ne laissent rien à dire. L'Empereur ne recevra jamais d'autre médecin que le Sieur O'Meara, parcequ'il est le sien, ou celui qui lui serait envoyé d'Europe conformément à la lettre ci-dessus citée du 13 Avril. J'ai communiqué la lettre que vous m'avez écrite hier; ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire est la substance de la réponse qu'on m'a chargé de vous transmettre.

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

No. 143.

À MONSIEUR LE LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Juillet 26, 1818.

Je reçois à l'instant la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire ce soir. Je ne pourrai pas la montrer à l'Empereur avant demain midi, car il a été fort mal aujourd'hui. En la traduisant je m'aperçois d'une erreur où vous êtes; vous induisez de ce qu'il a fait appeler le Docteur Stokoe en consultation qu'il pourrait recevoir ses services comme médecin ordinaire: j'ai l'honneur de vous donner l'assurance, malheureusement trop positive, que même au râle de la mort il ne recevra d'aide, ne prendra de remèdes, que de son propre médecin le Sieur O'Meara, et si on l'en prive il n'en recevra de personne, et se tiendra pour être assassiné par vous.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

No. 144.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, August 10, 1818.

I have the honour of transmitting to you the copy of a letter which has been addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the Cardinal Gonsalvi, relative to an application made by Cardinal Fesch to the Prince Regent for permission to procure and send to St. Helena a Roman Catholic priest to attend on General Buonaparte. I am to acquaint you that his Royal Highness sees no reason to withhold his assent to this application on behalf of General Buonaparte. You will, therefore, take an early opportunity of communicating to General Buonaparte that, Cardinal Fesch having represented to the Pope the desire of General Buonaparte to have a priest resident at Longwood in whom he may confide, the General having stated himself "to be unavoidably prevented from fulfilling the duties imposed upon him by the religion which he professes, and deprived of the essential comforts which, according to the tenets of his faith, may be derived from a participation of the Sacraments," the Prince Regent has signified his consent that Cardinal Fesch shall, agreeable to the wishes of General Buonaparte, select a priest for that purpose, and that this priest will have permission to reside at Longwood, subject to such conditions as it may be necessary for him previously to subscribe.

Observing from your recent despatches that General Buonaparte has expressed a wish to have a French surgeon of known reputation attached to the establishment at Longwood, and to be provided with a cook in whom he may be able to place confidence, I have availed myself of the same opportunity of making the wishes of General Buonaparte in this respect known to Cardinal Fesch; and, although it appears that the person who recently served him in the latter capacity was suddenly removed by the General's direction (for no fault or any inattention to his duty), I nevertheless have so little disposition to interfere with any arrangement which General Buonaparte may consider necessary to his comfort or safety, that I have

left it to Cardinal Fesch to select persons for both these situations, who will proceed to St. Helena in company with the Roman Catholic priest, under similar engagements as to the restriction of their communication and intercourse with the inhabitants of the island.

I shall not fail to give you the earliest intimation of the names of the individuals selected for these offices, and of the pro able period of their departure from this country.

I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 145.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, August 27, 1818.

It appearing by a letter addressed by Messrs. Baring to General Bertrand on the 13th instant that the General had it in contemplation to forward to them the necessary power of attorney for selling out that considerable sum of money which is vested in his name in the Navy 5 per Cents., and of which he is in the regular receipt of the interest, and it being on every account most unadvisable, with a view to the security of General Buonaparte, that any of his attendants should have so large a sum at their immediate disposal in the island, I am to instruct you in no case to lend your assistance to the verification of General Bertrand's signature attached to such an instrument. I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 146.

To EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, September 29, 1818.

Your Lordship will peruse with feelings of no ordinary disgust the details of the accompanying report, disclosing such mean and unworthy tricks and artifices to elude the regulations in force on this island, to establish a secret correspondence with Europe for pecuniary and other concerns, and to raise a cabal at the same time on the island itself in favour of Napoleon

Bonaparte, as it could have been hardly expected would have been at once brought to view.

The Marquis de Montchenu, who is as yet uninformed of what has been done, mentioned to me two days since that Mr. O'Meara, a short time before his departure, received a letter from Lord Melville (I repeat what the Marquis said, and whom I immediately set right, because it could not of course have been Lord Melville, though not impossibly one of the clerks in the department), saying he was to be recalled from his situation here; that he had shown this letter to the persons at Longwood, but that Napoleon felt too secure of the effect of the reports of his illness to admit the idea of the removal taking place, believing neither Government nor myself would *dare*, whilst he was supposed to be so ill, to deprive him of Mr. O'Meara's assistance. This information the Marquis must have had from Count Balmain's conversations. Such a material point being, as he conceived, gained, Napoleon appears resolved to have pushed to the utmost limit the advantage he trusted to have derived from it. Hence the vulgar insolence and audacity with which Mr. O'Meara was encouraged to act towards me, by which he hoped to shake in some degree the regard due to authority; the cabals sought to be formed amongst the officers of the 66th and in the navy; the pretensions he sought to establish for Mr. O'Meara in society when he found his character begin to droop; and all the prospectus [?] which is displayed in the correspondence annexed to the report, deeply laid but illusory, and only proving how easily Napoleon himself can be rendered the dupe of ignorant and pretending people, and to what mean shifts he can at the same time descend. The blame, however, does not appear to originate wholly in him, as there seems to have been at least as much of fanaticism and pretension, with an eye at the same time to the *trade* to be carried on, on one side, as of excitement on the other.

Whatever may have been said by General Gourgaud with respect to other persons that have been employed in clandestine communications, I could never fix a direct suspicion on any others than Mr. O'Meara or Mr. Balcombe (however assistance may have been afforded by others as the instruments or bearers), for they were the only persons who by their official situations had free access to the persons at Longwood, and, if they were

unprincipled enough, whilst receiving the public money for their services there, to become the tools for any indirect purpose whatever, it was next to impossible to prevent it.

The change in the purveyorship was the first blow against the designs that had been forming, and the little noise made by Napoleon about it convinced me he was apprehensive of the discoveries that might be made in that quarter. The removal of Mr. O'Meara levelled the whole fabric, and hence the plots now developed. Mr. Balcombe's conduct is quite inexcusable. I had uniformly treated him and his family with attention and kindness, and had most distinctly and repeatedly cautioned him in a friendly manner, on the subject of his intimacy with Mr. O'Meara, pointing out to him even the very delicate situation in which he might be eventually placed by having his name coupled together with that of Mr. O'Meara as the only persons Napoleon saw. Mr. Balcombe will perfectly recollect, if reminded of it, the pointed warning I gave him in my office, some weeks before he left this island, on the latter point. He went on headlong, however, in an increasing intimacy, until he became, as it appears, completely entangled. When, after obtaining my signature to a requisition for certain stores he was to embark on board the Hyena store-ship for the use of the establishment at Longwood, he got an order subsequently from the Admiral to ship stores in tenfold quantity on his own account, in prejudice of the island receiving supplies it was in actual distress for by the same ship, I remonstrated with him, as his conduct merited, in opposing or undermining the arrangements he knew I had been endeavouring to establish; but this was the only occasion where I expressed a marked dissatisfaction to him, although, it appears to me, the Admiral, on the whole, had more reason to complain of the mode in which he had been circumvented than myself. This was unconnected, however, with his business at Longwood, and is only mentioned lest he might be referring to it, which neither the late naval Commander-in-Chief nor the present, though acting with the best intentions, can feel any desire he should do.

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of the cordial and zealous support I have received throughout from Admiral Plampin in everything connected with the affairs of Mr. O'Meara. His reasons for not showing to, or leaving with

me, the letter from Mr. Balcombe to Mr. Stokoe I do not entirely enter into; but I am convinced the letter contained nothing which could throw any new or any important light on the subject of the other correspondence, and that it is probably regard to Mr. Stokoe, with some feeling of consideration towards Mr. Balcombe himself, where actual necessity did not require his name to be brought forward. The Admiral has been somewhat unpleasantly placed in regard to the latter, by owing to him the obligation of his present place of residence, the Briars, which Mr. Balcombe, to his own great inconvenience, and that of his family, yielded up to the Admiral on his arrival here. This induced at first a great intimacy between them, but the Admiral now sees Mr. Balcombe's character and line of proceeding in the true point of view. If your Lordship reflects on this matter; on the marked support given to Mr. Balcombe by all the naval Commanders-in-Chief; that his house was the common rendezvous of the navy, not so much for purposes of hospitality as perhaps to create distraction and make a party. (Mr. O'Meara being the oracle there); on the conduct of the Commissioners, and on the protection given by Count Balmain, in particular, to Mr. O'Meara, because juridical proofs were not immediately brought forward against him,—it will be felt I had many difficulties to overcome before attaining this development of what has been passing, and bringing about a right change in persons' sentiments on the occasion; but I cannot speak on this subject without expressing my great obligations to Sir Thomas Reade, whose zeal, activity, and intelligence, on this, as well as on every other occasion, have never been in fault, and who has been a mainspring of the discoveries that have been made.

Even the Admiral told me he had difficulty in persuading some of his own officers Mr. O'Meara was not a much-injured man (which, however, must have sprung from some party design, as the history of the snuff-box and his communications with Mr. Vernon were sufficient to fix his character), but that now all voices are united against him. Mr. Stokoe, the Admiral said, shed tears on finding how much he had been deceived by him; and even his friend Lieutenant Reardon, of the 66th, now speaks of him as one of the "greatest scoundrels," to use his own terms, he ever heard of.

Your Lordship will observe the very line of proceeding which

was adopted by Mr. Fowler. It shows, however, the confidence with which Mr. Holmes and Mr. Balcombe must have been acting, when they could venture to implicate Mr. Fowler so far as to send him a letter and a box of French books under a feigned address. Mr. Cole, the other partner, has not appeared in the matter. He has conducted himself with great prudence since Mr. Balcombe's departure, but has appeared a good deal agitated since the last discoveries. It is likely to prove a fatal thing for the business of their house; but if they have lost the purveyorship by their connection with Mr. O'Meara, it is not from want of due caution to Mr. Balcombe, and this I am particularly solicitous Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt should understand. . .

I have observed that part of Mr. Balcombe's letter wherein he says the opinions of Sir George Cockburn and Sir Pulteney are with him. I can never believe a person holding the high official situation of Sir George Cockburn would offer opinions to Mr. Balcombe on a subject of such delicacy as that he adverts to, but, if he should have done so, I am quite ready to meet and refute them. If Sir Pulteney has offered such opinions in private, I am persuaded he will not think of maintaining them; but should he have expressed opinions on such subject to any person in *official* situation, or uttered them publicly, I should desire to learn it; as I am quite prepared for any discussion on such points with him. . . . . .

Napoleon is as yet uninformed of what has been passing. To have admitted only two English persons near him for upwards of a twelvemonth, and those to be proved his mere tools, can afford him no agreeable subject of reflection, particularly if he should by chance discover that the one of them, a surgeon of a man-of-war, was formerly dismissed the army by the sentence of a court-martial, and that the other, who had been a mate of an Indiaman, had been equally dismissed the Company's service for some gross act of insubordination towards the commander of his ship. The anecdotes which are current here I have no reason to doubt the truth of, yet such, with Mr. Warden, are the chief selections Napoleon has made. He has not moved out since the last report which mentioned it. In other respects he continues the same.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 147.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, October 12, 1818.

In my letter of the 18th September I had the honour to acquaint your Lordship of the particulars of a conversation I had with Count Montholon on that day respecting the introduction of the orderly officer and surgeon in attendance at Longwood to Napoleon Bonaparte, adverting at the same time to the principal motive which urged me to propose their presentation to him, viz. that of endeavouring to obtain, in the least painful way to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, the execution of that part of the orderly officer's duty which requires he should make daily reports of his actual presence on the spot.

The orderly officer saw him on that day immediately after my conversation with Count Montholon, and I had therefore reason to suppose the object in a degree obtained. Several days, notwithstanding, elapsed without the same opportunity being afforded. Napoleon Bonaparte kept himself entirely confined to his room, with his blinds closed, or, if he opened the window to admit a little air, a curtain was immediately drawn across it. In other respects matters went on in such a manner about the house as to leave no doubt of his being within it; but still I was not satisfied that anything less than frequent personal observation should be considered by the orderly officer as containing a satisfactory proof upon which to ground his reports to me.

Several motives nevertheless still combined to make me act with every delicacy to Napoleon Bonaparte on this occasion. He for some days, as was stated by persons of his family, did not rise from his bed; and, although he ought in such case to have admitted a surgeon to see him, yet, viewing the seriousness of his protests against receiving the visits of any medical person on the island, and the conflict he must have had to sustain in his own mind before descending to admit how absurd and unreasonable such protests were, I felt reluctant, believing a certain degree of indisposition might prevail, though from confinement alone, to urge any too hasty intrusion, whether of the orderly officer or surgeon, upon him. Another motive pre-

sented itself in the circumstance of the new house building for him: the work had commenced within a stone's-throw of his own windows (in a spot, however, it is to be observed, approved by him, so far as Count Montholon's opinion upon the occasion could be considered as his); it was thus not possible for him to show himself at his window or in his garden without being exposed to the gaze of all the workmen. Incessant rain and wind, at the same time, presented a quite sufficient and natural reason for his not quitting the house. Foreseeing the arguments which might be offered as to the building, I had directed an extensive sod parapet to be thrown up between the place where the workmen were employed and his garden, so as to completely prevent any of the persons employed either from seeing him or passing to his house or garden. Having completed this work, and the reports of the orderly officer continuing the same—that it was impossible to obtain a view of his person—I resolved to have another interview with Count Montholon, and, as he had very readily attended upon me when I sent for him to the orderly officer's room, I waived the same ceremonial on the present occasion by calling upon him: this interview took place on the 30th September. A detail of the conversation which ensued is transmitted. I merely, on this occasion, introduced the subject of my former application for the presentation of the orderly officer and the surgeon. Count Montholon had not obtained any answer, but promised one the ensuing day. No answer arriving, I waited upon him the 3rd October, and found a reply had been given in the negative. It became now therefore expedient to put the question of the orderly officer's seeing Napoleon Bonaparte upon another footing. I stated at once to Count Montholon the substance of the reports I had received from the orderly officer, and what my instructions, as well as his, required. A long conversation ensued, of which the details accompany [this].

On the 5th instant I again waited upon Count Montholon, to know what might be the result of his communication with Napoleon Bonaparte—the details also of this conversation are annexed. I introduced the subject of the letter under a false name for Mr. O'Meara, and of the effect which must be produced upon the opinion of the public in general by observing that for upwards of a year past the only English persons whom

Napoleon Bonaparte had admitted to his presence were two "*qui s'étaient égarés sur leurs devoirs.*" Count Montholon evinced great surprise at both communications, and I am inclined to ascribe much of the change which has apparently since taken place to my mention of them.

On the 7th instant a message was sent by Count Montholon to Major Gorrequer, to beg to speak to him. It was intimated to Major Gorrequer at the same time by the orderly officer that it was to ask explanation upon some parts of my conversation. I suggested to Major Gorrequer to be cautious in his replies, but at the same time not to omit the opportunity of giving any proper explanation that might be required. A detail of the conversation which passed accompanies [this], and I had much satisfaction at the mode in which Major Gorrequer managed his arguments and replies on the occasion.

Explanation was required from myself, and I waited upon Count Montholon the next day to offer it. This I thought was best done by communicating to him the instructions of the orderly officer, the conversation I had with Count Bertrand on the subject of them in the first month after my arrival here, and your Lordship's letter to me after perusing that conversation—the whole to prove I was innovating nothing. Whilst a surgeon was in daily attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte, and there were English servants in the same house with him, there could be no doubt of his actual presence on the spot. When he refused medical aid and dismissed his English attendants he placed himself in a new situation, and against the difficulties which were thus opposed to the orderly officer in the execution of his duties it was my particular duty to provide. The conversation was in a perfectly amicable strain, and led to another on the next day, the details of both of which are transmitted.

Although I had no reason to mistrust the sincerity of Count Montholon in the conciliatory language and propositions held by him on the two last days' meetings, yet I still persisted on the orderly officer having the opportunity afforded him of seeing Napoleon Bonaparte, and I am happy to add that Count Montholon did not withdraw from any part of the assurance he had given on this head, the orderly officer reporting to me to have seen Napoleon Bonaparte at his window the following day, but having his head bandaged with a silk handkerchief, and looking very pale.

I have this day had another conversation with Count Montholon, the details of which I also transmit. Some fresh points were brought forward, but not of a nature to create any great difficulty—points of imaginary difference to have an air of negotiation before arriving at any change, rather than forming any real question of dispute, unless, through the pretensions of Count Bertrand, it may be eventually endeavoured to work them into such.

The only point on which I feel anxious for a determination, and that which principally urged my visit of this day, is in respect to the selection of the medical attendant; for should it fall on any other person than Dr. Verling or Mr Baxter, embarrassment might still arise. I have conceived the best way, however, to fix the choice on the present one was to manifest no objections against others who had been adverted to, though I went prepared to do so if their names had been mentioned. Dr. Verling had been told Napoleon Bonaparte's only objection against him was that he had been placed at Longwood by me. The less solicitude, therefore, I showed on this point I thought the better.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe the contempt with which Count Montholon appears to have regarded the difficulties that have stood in the way of former arrangements where the intervention of Count Bertrand has been used, particularly as to the point of a correspondence by sealed notes within the island, in which that pretending person was attempting to obtain from the Governor of the island an authorised cover for carrying on a clandestine correspondence, as well within as without it; or, if this was not his view, sacrificing the health and comfort of the person whose cause he was so hypocritically advocating to a vain endeavour for an object of no importance; for, as Count Montholon very justly observed, if they were obliged to send letters open to their own nearest friends and relations, it was a *niaiserie* to insist on writing to others under seal.

Thus Napoleon Bonaparte's confinement during upwards of a year past, and all the inconveniences that have sprung to him and others from it, result from this cause—the pertinacity of Count Bertrand in a point acknowledged to be altogether frivolous, and the conspiration of Mr. O'Meara in his views; for it will be recollected Mr. O'Meara asserted a sealed cor-

respondence was permitted by Sir George Cockburn (which has not as yet been controverted), and thus excited them to persist on this point, whilst with characteristic duplicity he at the same time insidiously suggested to me the opening any sealed letters they might send, as it was only the air of liberty Napoleon Bonaparte wanted, thus paving the way, had I listened to his unprincipled proposition, for complaint and remonstrance of a more violent and better founded nature than any I had been before exposed to (as he spoke without authority from Napoleon Bonaparte himself) on another ground.

Such matter, with the "état de choses" so frequently brought forward in Count Bertrand's correspondence and conversations, formed the only subject of dispute; yet, analyzing in every possible way what the "état de choses" meant, I could never discover that it referred to anything else than to the freedom which Count Bertrand and his family enjoyed when they lived without the limits of Longwood at Hutt's Gate, where their house was literally an open one to almost every person living on the island or passing by it, and a sealed correspondence, under cover of what might have perhaps passed unnoticed in regard to others, already commenced with the foreign Commissioners.

This "état de choses," it is true, I found here on my first arrival, but Sir George Cockburn himself acknowledged the manifest inconvenience of it to me, and counselled my imposing some restraint upon the intercourse with Count Bertrand; yet where one of my first acts must be to undo indulgences which, whether authorised or not, had existed under my predecessor, it was obviously no easy task to reconcile the change to persons whom it so very materially affected; for through Count Bertrand the persons who were so unceremoniously admitted to his house—his passes, which were to be as valid as mine—his sealed notes, and a pretension he afterwards set forth to be relieved from the observation of the orderly officer when he paid his visits to the town—Napoleon Bonaparte would have had, almost under sanction, all the means he could desire, as well for influencing public opinion as for seeing or communicating with whom and for what purposes he might please; and, although the regulations in force may not have fully succeeded in preventing improper communications taking place, yet the clan-

destine means resorted to, and the character of the individuals employed, against whose treachery it was impossible to guard by any other means than removal, must, I should conceive, diminish very mainly of [*sic*] their effect.

I may still have difficulties under any arrangement which may eventually take place in consequence of my communications with Count Montholon, but I shall be cautious in not admitting any indulgence which is not in perfect conformity to your Lordship's instructions, whilst my chief care will be to watch that such as are permitted lead not to abuse.

Count Bertrand, I understand, shows an undisguised mortification at the communication which has been had with Count Montholon in preference to him, but since his letters respecting Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, I have had no intercourse whatever with him. I had occasion, however, to direct Sir Thomas Reade to address two letters to him, and these have not (like that on which the "apostille" was written) been returned to me.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 148.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, October 25, 1818.

In continuance of the subject of my letter of the 12th instant, I do myself the honour to inform your Lordship that, having made some of the arrangements which Count Montholon had suggested in respect to the mode of examining the articles which were sent to Longwood, I called upon him on the 15th to make them known to him, and was not a little surprised to find the old subject again attempted to be introduced of a correspondence by sealed notes within the island, although stated to be limited only to one person, viz. the officer of the commissariat charged with the provisioning of the Longwood establishment, and that with respect to the transaction of their pecuniary affairs.

Admitting it in this instance, under any colour or form whatever, was giving up the principle with respect to the thing in general, and beginning with the sanctioning of a correspondence upon a point of greater delicacy than any other, notwithstand-

ing all the arguments brought to prove to me it was a matter of mere form that was contested for, and that there was no intention to interfere with any guarantee I might wish to establish against abuse. It was obvious all this question arose from the note I directed Sir Thomas Reade to address to Count Bertrand when I returned him his letter to Mr. Ibbetson, and I treated the arguments of Count Montholon accordingly.

A further point was brought forward in discussion, as to Counts Bertrand and Montholon not being so closely attended by the orderly officer when they might proceed to the town. This point, it was also obvious, was of Count Bertrand's moving, for before that Count Montholon had expressed to me indifference about it, and I rejected it, therefore, in the same manner as the other. A memorandum of my conversation is annexed. As Count Montholon, however, seemed to think that I considered the subject too much with regard to Count Bertrand alone and personally, I determined to make an extract of the correspondence that had passed on the subject and to show it to him. I called upon him the following day, taking the paper with me, every line of which was a proof how pertinaciously Count Bertrand had been always combating for the same point, and how repeatedly he had been answered upon it. I found no necessity, however, for entering upon any other argument with Count Montholon on the subject, so complete a change of tone in every respect had ensued, in consequence, as I presume, of my having made so very distinct a reference to Count Bertrand as the cause of the new discussion and disagreement that was now again likely to arise.

Count Montholon's conversation was a mixture of compliment, and might appear even cajolery, more than sufficient to put me on my guard against any change of system which his very flattering language might cover. There was nothing said for me to oppose, and I left him consequently under the impression all points were adjusted, except in regard to the nomination of the surgeon, whom I naturally conceived, however, from Count Montholon's conversation, would be Dr. Verling. A note of my conversation is annexed.

It was my intention to refrain from calling again until Count Montholon might communicate to me Napoleon Bonaparte's final decision in respect to this point, but, a circumstance occur-

ring not perfectly in concurrence with the language he last held to me, I resolved on making it immediately known to him. Lieutenant Reardon of the 66th regiment had received a visit whilst on duty at an outpost of the cordon of sentries, from the Count and the Countess Bertrand, which did not come to my knowledge until nearly a week after it had taken place. Having caused an inquiry to be made as to the conversation which passed, I found it related entirely to Lieutenant Reardon's friend Mr. O'Meara, and that Count Bertrand had been busy in insinuating on Mr. Reardon's mind that Mr. O'Meara was an innocent man, that he would have justice done him in England, that he would be supported by Ministers at home; and I called upon Count Montholon and communicated to him the whole that passed. He expressed an unfeigned surprise, and even concern, at Count Bertrand's conduct, intimating that what he did could neither have been known nor approved by Napoleon Bonaparte. Memorandum of this conversation accompanies this letter.

Being really under the impression Count Bertrand had acted without Napoleon Bonaparte's knowledge, and willing to afford a proof that a circumstance of this nature should not be taken up as a handle by me to break off that better kind of understanding which had begun to spring up from my conversations with Count Montholon—knowing at the same time Napoleon Bonaparte would attempt to make it matter of reproach against me, as he had done upon a former occasion, that I was insincere in any endeavour to render his situation more comfortable, and ready to profit by any pretext which presented itself for breaking off any kind of negotiation which might be on foot with such view—I determined to again wait on Count Montholon, and to make a full and explicit statement to him of what I had finally determined to do in every point upon which he had spoken to me, to point out to him the full extent of every indulgence I could grant, and at the same time to explain to him the real obstacle which existed against a right understanding, and against that species of "confidence" which Napoleon Bonaparte seemed so desirous to possess in respect to my mode of acting towards him, plainly showing it sprang alone from the line of conduct pursued and persevered in by Count Bertrand, over which I could have no possible control.

Having had a full explanation on all these points, as will appear by the annexed notes of conversation I had with Count Montholon, I am best content to leave matters as they are, satisfied in having shown to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, and to the world at large, if required, that, if he is not or cannot be made more comfortable in his present situation, the cause springs solely from himself and his most intimate followers.

Count Montholon spoke this day with an uncertainty which he had not done on the preceding occasion of seeing him, respecting Napoleon Bonaparte's choice not being entirely fixed on the medical person to attend him. If he should not select Dr. Verling, the persons who have been next adverted to as likely to attract his choice are, Mr. Stokoe, surgeon of H.M.S. Conqueror, and Mr. Henry, assistant-surgeon of the 66th Regiment.

Your Lordship will find the names of both these persons referred to in an annexed correspondence, as participating more or less in the acquaintance and society of Mr. O'Meara; and if either of them is applied for, I have no doubt whatever in my own mind it will be entirely at the suggestion of Count Bertrand, through whom and his family alone Napoleon Bonaparte can have become acquainted with the latter person, who has been occasionally called in to attend upon Count Bertrand's children, and to whom, it is to be observed, by the conversation of Count Montholon, a present, of which Mr. O'Meara was to have been the medium, was once thought of to be delivered.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 149.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, October 28, 1818.

I do myself the honour to transmit to your Lordship a plan of the house which is at present building for Napoleon Bonaparte, the design corresponding to that of which a sketch was given to Count Montholon for Napoleon Bonaparte's selection, as referred to in my letter of the 19th of August, 1818, and marked No. 2, with the sole variation of a portion of the centre part of the building, which had been laid out in

passages, being added to and thrown into the size of the rooms. This alteration was suggested by Count Montholon, and therefore indicates the satisfaction of Napoleon Bonaparte himself at the general plan delivered to him. The house is of one story; the whole of the foundation has been completed, and the left wing nearly built up. The kitchen and offices have not been yet laid out, but they will form a low range of buildings immediately at the back of the house, at one extremity of which will be rooms for the orderly officer and surgeon.

I am preparing a list of different articles of furniture and other matters necessary for the complete outfit of the building, great part of the furniture which originally came out, particularly such articles as window-curtains, couch and chair covers, paper-hangings, &c., having been used for the service of the present building at Longwood, and the families of Counts Bertrand and Montholon. One article not originally sent out it will perhaps appear to your Lordship expedient to have provided, particularly if Napoleon Bonaparte should put into execution his present intention of taking more exercise. This article is a carriage of the barouche kind, with crane neck, the body hanging low, the wheels not inclining too much inwards, and the whole of the lightest construction possible. Harness for six horses or mules would also be requisite, as no four-wheel carriage whatever can be drawn up the hills on this island with a less number of animals. The carriage he has had hitherto in use was one purchased from Colonel Wilkes; it is now however in such a complete state of degradation as to furnish only matter for sarcastic remarks when pointed to, either by him or the persons of his family, and a proposal to put it in somewhat better order, which can be done, even meets with a certain opposition, probably as depriving [him] of a motive for observations of this nature.

I had the honour to inform your Lordship, in a former letter, that the sale of the extra timber and materials originally sent out for the use of General Bonaparte's house had produced a large sum of money, which had been deposited in the hands of Mr. Ibbetson, Assistant Commissary-General. The amount now in his hands on this account is 4970*l.*, and is of course disposable for any expense attending the outfit and completion of the building in hand. I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 150.

To JOHN WILSON CROKER, ESQ.

Sir, 28, Chester Place, Kennington, Oct. 28, 1818.

The letter, dated the 19th of September last, which Mr. Barrow did me the honour to write to me, in answer to my official Report, bearing date the 17th of September, of my return to England, having expressed their Lordships' approval of my recall from St. Helena, which would seem to imply that some culpable conduct on my part had induced their Lordships to come to such a decision, under this painful impression it is a duty which I owe to myself and the British Navy to enclose to you the following statement, accompanied with as much of the history of my appointment, and also with the documents [1] already known, and as many others as may be necessary for the elucidation of the whole of the transactions which relate to my conduct, and which I beg you will be pleased to submit for their Lordships' consideration.

When it was decided in 1815 to send Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, His Majesty's Government ordered that he should have the privilege of taking with him his surgeon, three of his officers, and twelve domestics, as appears by the official document given by Admiral the Right Honourable Lord Keith to Count Bertrand, marked No. 1.

The French surgeon who had followed Napoleon Bonaparte on board the Bellerophon was an inferior officer who had desired to return back again to France. Lord Keith proposed to Count Bertrand to send a ship on purpose to seek and bring over the surgeon who had missed the opportunity of embarking with Napoleon Bonaparte; but Count Bertrand (whose first acquaintance with me commenced on board the Bellerophon), having done me the honour to consider me as qualified for the appointment, proposed that I should accompany him, which proposal was approved of and authorised by Admiral Lord Keith and Captain Maitland, both of whom strongly advised me to accept of the employment, as being one

NOTES BY SIR HUDSON LOWE.

[1.] "*Most* of those documents were obtained by Dr. O'Meara in direct violation of the trust reposed in him as a British officer."

perfectly consistent with my duty and my honour; to which I consented, stipulating, however, that I should be always considered as a British officer, and upon the list of surgeons on full pay, paid by the British Government [2]; and that I should be at liberty to quit so peculiar a service, should I find it not to be consonant to my wishes,—as appears from the letter marked 2. These conditions were approved of by the Government and by their Lordships, who ordered me to be borne on the books of the different flag-ships at St. Helena as Supernumerary Surgeon, in order to give me my time; and ordered also specifically a certain allowance of pay to me, with the title of Surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte, which was paid by bills drawn upon the principal officers and commanders of His Majesty's navy, approved by the Admiral commanding the station.

This nomination did not confer on the officers of His Majesty's land forces any right or power over me, and I was not subject to General Sir Hudson Lowe otherwise [3] than because he was specially charged by His Majesty's Government, under orders dated the 12th of April, 1816, with the execution of the measures authorised by the Act of Parliament passed on the 11th of April, 1816, and I consequently was not subject to ordinary military discipline [4].

During the administration of Admiral Sir George Cockburn I executed my functions of Surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte without any opposition or difficulties having been thrown in my way [5]; and I was also frequently employed by that Admiral as an organ of communication between the prisoners and himself, and also as interpreter between the inhabitants and

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[2.] "Dr. O'Meara omitted to add that, by the instructions which he quotes he was '*not to be in anywise dependent, upon, or subservient to, or paid by, Napoleon Bonaparte.*'"

[3.] "This '*otherwise*' comprehends all that I ever required of Dr. O'Meara."

[4.] "Whilst serving on shore as an officer of the royal navy, he was subject to military discipline, in the same manner as an officer of troops of the line serving in a fleet is subject to naval discipline. The whole of this paragraph contains a false inuendo."

[5.] "This also contains a false inuendo, if it is meant to be inferred that any opposition was thrown by me in his way."

them in the many communications which the formation of that establishment rendered indispensable. No reports of *espionnage* were ever expected or required from me by Sir George Cockburn, who was possessed of too much honour himself to require such degrading offices from any one, more especially a British officer [6].

In the third interview which Sir Hudson Lowe had with Napoleon Bonaparte, in the month of May, 1816, he proposed to the latter to send me away [7], and to replace me by Mr. Baxter, who had been several years surgeon with him in the Corsican Rangers. This proposition was rejected with indignation by Napoleon Bonaparte, upon the ground of the indelicacy of a proposal to substitute an army surgeon for the private surgeon of his own choice [8].

Failing in this attempt, Sir Hudson Lowe adopted the resolution of manifesting great confidence in me, by loading me with civilities, inviting me constantly to dinner with him, conversing for hours together with me alone, both at his own home and grounds, and at Longwood, either in my own room, or under the trees, and elsewhere [9]. On some of these

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[6.] "This is another false inuendo. He has not dared to say that I ever did employ him, or sought to employ him, in such a manner. His communications to Sir George Cockburn were, it is believed, much more ample and more minute, as to objects of mere personal slander or private revelations, with respect to what passed in the interior of Bonaparte's own family, than they ever were to me; but they were, it is presumed, wholly voluntary."

[7.] "This is a pure falsehood."

[8.] "This is also a pure falsehood, so far as relates to any indignation ever expressed to me by Napoleon Bonaparte, or to the grounds of that indignation." Sir Hudson Lowe never proposed to substitute Mr. Baxter for O'Meara, though he frequently offered to Bonaparte that gentleman's professional assistance (he being the principal medical officer on the island), *in addition to that of O'Meara.*—W. F.

[9.] "Sir Hudson Lowe never manifested any greater civilities to Mr. O'Meara than to every other officer of the same rank and situation on the island. When he went to Longwood the orderly officer and surgeon always came out to meet him, and on these occasions he naturally conversed with them about those matters which it most behoved him to know; but Sir Hudson Lowe always went to the room of the orderly officer, and not to that of Mr. O'Meara, if he had anything particular to say or any business to do."

occasions he made to me observations upon the benefit which would result to Europe from the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, of which event he spoke in a manner which, considering his situation and mine, was peculiarly distressing to me [10].

On the 9th of October, 1816, and subsequently, he ordered that I should make him a report of all and every conversation which I might have, not only with Napoleon Bonaparte, but with all the principal persons of his suite [11], as well as of every circumstance I might observe, requiring of me even to report any warm or injurious expression which might escape from Napoleon's lips in a moment of suffering, observing that "defamation and blackening of his character were some of the means by which Napoleon Bonaparte would endeavour to effect his escape from St. Helena, and therefore that it was essentially necessary for him to be made acquainted with language of such a tendency." This declaration he made subsequently to the 22nd of August, 1816, on which day he avowed to me, at Plantation House grounds, intentions of BEING REVENGED upon Napoleon Bonaparte, and declared "that he would make him feel that he was a prisoner;" that "he would build him up" [12]; assigning for this severity some injurious expressions said to have been used by Napoleon Bonaparte against him, in the presence of Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm; and shortly afterwards he observed "that he considered Ali Pacha as a much more respectable scoundrel than Napoleon Bonaparte" [13];

[10.] Sir Hudson Lowe said that he did not deign to make any reply to the foul insinuation conveyed in this passage, which caused the Lords of the Admiralty immediately to dismiss O'Meara from the King's service.—W. F.

[11.] "False." Abundant proof has been given in these volumes that O'Meara *voluntarily* acted as a spy, and *voluntarily* communicated Bonaparte's conversations, as well as the conversations and proceedings not only of the officers of his suite, but also of their wives.—W. F.

[12.] "A calumnious falsehood, scarcely less atrocious than the other. It is not only false that I ever announced any intention of being revenged upon Bonaparte, but that I ever used any expression which could, by the most strained implication, be supposed to have conveyed such an intention, or that I ever harboured such intention, or that I ever entertained any personal vindictive feeling whatever towards him."

[13.] "These are infamous falsehoods. No such expressions were ever used by Sir Hudson Lowe. If language of such a tendency were used by

and language of a similar tendency was also frequently made use of by him upon other occasions.

I replied to Sir Hudson Lowe, on this and various other occasions, that if, in the course of conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte, or any of his suite or otherwise, I should become acquainted with any plot or attempt to escape, or with anything else which I could not conceal without violating my allegiance to my Sovereign and country, I would conceive it my duty to report the same forthwith to him; that should I, in the course of conversation, hear anything which, in my opinion, was of political importance to my own Government, either in the shape of anecdote or otherwise, or of any improper correspondence, the desire which every Englishman naturally felt to render himself useful to his own country would induce me to communicate the same to him, and everything of that description which might not prejudice the personal interest of the patient I confidentially approached in the exercise of my profession, or anything which might tend to benefit him. In doing so, perhaps, I engaged to do too much, and certainly no more could be expected from a man of honour. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, did not long rest contented with this declaration. He insisted upon my reporting to him everything I saw, heard, and said, giving as a reason "that I had no business to presume to set up my own opinion or judgment upon the importance or otherwise of any conversation I might have; that he was the sole judge, and that he might think many matters of great importance which would appear trifling and unimportant to me, as he would draw inferences and conclusions from them which I would not;" adding, "that, as I was paid by the British Government, surgeon to a prisoner of war and of state, it was my duty to report to him everything which came under my observation; and that he would not allow the first characters living in the island to hold any communication with Napoleon Bonaparte, unless they subsequently made a

him, it must have been heard by other persons than Dr. O'Meara, especially by the officers of his staff, by the naval Commander-in-Chief, the foreign Commissioners, or by Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham. Now let any one or all of these persons be referred to to say if any such expressions, or words conceived in such a spirit, ever fell from his lips, or if such sentiments appeared to be harboured in his mind."

report to him of the conversation which took place with the former" [14].

I replied to Sir Hudson Lowe that it was true I was paid by the British Government, but that I was paid as a surgeon, and not as a spy; that medicine had nothing to do with politics; and that I did not consider Napoleon Bonaparte in his past character as a Sovereign, but as what he was at that moment—an individual placed under my professional care; and that, as his private surgeon, I would act with him as if I were in a similar capacity with Earl St. Vincent or Lord Keith (saving and excepting what I have already stated touching my allegiance). These refusals embroiled me with him, and I was not long without feeling the effects of his resentment.

Shortly after his arrival Sir Hudson Lowe overturned [15] altogether the moderate but efficient system which had been established by his predecessor, Sir George Cockburn, and in lieu thereof introduced a system of unprecedented restrictions, vexations, and inquisitorial proceedings, which produced a rupture [16] between him and the inhabitants of Longwood.

Sir Hudson Lowe then thought proper to appoint me [17] to be an organ of communication between Napoleon Bonaparte, the other prisoners at Longwood, and himself, and *vice versâ*, and also between them and the different tradesmen, purveyors, &c., employed in the service of the establishment. This arrangement met with the approbation of the French, and for a considerable time few days passed without my being charged with some communication from one side or the other. On the 16th of October, 1816, a proposal was made to Sir Hudson Lowe by Napoleon Bonaparte, through me, to drop the title of Emperor, and to assume the name of a private individual (Baron Duroc, or Colonel Meuron), as will be seen by document No. 3, which

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[14.] "This is wholly and absolutely false, as applying, in such sense, to anything I ever said to Dr. O'Meara."

[15.] "This is false. Dr. O'Meara has not attempted to support it by any proof whatever."

[16.] "The '*rupture*' produced the regulations of the 10th of October, 1816, and not the regulations the rupture."

[17.] "Dr. O'Meara was never charged by Sir Hudson Lowe with any communication to Napoleon Bonaparte until Bonaparte had charged him with a message to Sir Hudson Lowe."

has not been acceded to; and on the 27th of December, 1816, a proposal was also made by Napoleon Bonaparte to Sir Hudson Lowe for the latter to authorise Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm to act as an intermediator, in order to effect an amicable arrangement, of which I was also the bearer, and which was first accepted of and agreed to by Sir Hudson Lowe, but subsequently evaded and rejected by him, *in contempt* of his word pledged in writing to that purport, marked No. 4, which I was directed to show to Napoleon Bonaparte. Finding that my endeavours and attempts to effect a reconciliation had failed, and that the communications I was charged with produced discussions with Sir Hudson Lowe, which invariably drew down upon me reproach and abuse whenever I differed with him in opinion, and also that he persisted in wanting to render me a blind, a passive instrument of espionage, and that he (Sir Hudson Lowe) had repeatedly *broken his word*, and evaded promises he had made through me to Napoleon Bonaparte, which caused the latter to direct me to no longer bring him any communications or proposals from Sir Hudson Lowe, I determined to abstain from meddling longer with any subjects foreign to medicine, and to confine myself altogether to the natural duties of my profession, of which intention I gave Sir Hudson Lowe notice. Conceiving [*sic*] that he could not conquer my sentiments and the obligations which I conceive are due by every private surgeon to his patient, Sir Hudson Lowe again changed his plan, and endeavoured to get rid of me by subjecting me to the worst treatment. He no longer invited me to dine; or, indeed, behaved to me in public with common decency; ordered me, on the 18th of July, 1817, to come twice a week to his own house to report, where, because I would not comply with his verbal instructions, he, availing himself of his situation of superior officer, and of the extraordinary power vested in him by peculiar circumstances, treated me in the most shameful manner, loaded me with abuse, menaced me by words and looks, and, on the 18th of December, 1817, carried his violence so far as to shake his clenched fist in my face, [18] and made me suffer every indignity short of blows, because I informed him that I had promised Napoleon Bonaparte not to reveal his

[18.] "False."

conversations, unless they related to his escape, or were otherwise contrary to my allegiance; verbally prohibited me from conversing with my patients at Longwood upon any subject not medical, unless I chose to relieve myself from the responsibility, which he said I should otherwise incur, by being guilty of an infraction [19] of the declaration marked A (to which he referred), by immediately making a report to him of the whole of such conversation not medical, upon which condition alone I had his permission to hold converse with Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite. After having repeatedly demanded instructions in writing, which were as often refused, and finding that Sir Hudson Lowe restricted his communications to verbal instructions, which he subsequently *denied* or acknowledged, according as the one or the other suited his views, and after having patiently suffered his unjustifiable treatment for some months, I was at last compelled, by the proceedings of the 18th of December, 1817, to send him the letter marked No. 5. [20] About this time also Sir Hudson Lowe renewed his pressing application to introduce Mr. Baxter, as will appear from the extracts marked No. 6.

Since 1816 Sir Hudson Lowe ordered me from time to time to make bulletins of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, from whose knowledge he desired that they should be concealed, and which he sometimes caused to be altered. [21] In September, 1817, however, Napoleon Bonaparte having fallen seriously ill, bulletins were written daily, and Napoleon Bonaparte became acquainted with them through *authorised* persons. He observed that he thought it very extraordinary and improper that his own surgeon should be obliged to make bulletins of the state of his illness without his knowledge, and declared that he would not see me again until I gave my word of honour that I

[19.] "False."

[20.] "A wilful and deliberate falsehood, and received a direct contradiction in the reply which was sent to this letter, and which Dr. O'Meara has *suppressed*, not only on this occasion, but when he printed the correspondence in the 'Morning Chronicle.'" Vide vol. ii. pp. 472-485.

[21.] "This is also a deliberate falsehood, as regards the imputation intended to be conveyed. Dr. O'Meara was desired, on one or two occasions, to compress the substance of some of his daily reports into one; but not an expression was ever altered in any bulletin, nor was any report of Napoleon Bonaparte's health ever received from him of which an exact copy was not transmitted to the British Government."

would write no more without first obtaining his consent, and leaving the original in the possession of Count Bertrand. I did not like to make this engagement without first acquainting Sir Hudson Lowe, who returned an evasive answer, and made Napoleon Bonaparte wait several days for a decisive reply. At last, however, after Napoleon Bonaparte had been several days without seeing me, Sir Hudson Lowe authorised me to say that no more bulletins should be asked without his (Napoleon's) being acquainted with the demand. A difficulty presented itself in the compilation of the bulletins. Sir Hudson Lowe required that he should be styled "General Bonaparte." [22] Finally, however, Count Bertrand, after some discussion, authorised me to drop all titles, and to make use of the word "patient." This was communicated by me to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 15th of October, 1817. Nothing now appeared to be wanting to allow bulletins to be regularly made, and, as the originals must have been left in Count Bertrand's hands, there could have been no possibility of any falsification being made of them. This, however, was not what Sir Hudson Lowe wanted, and he had recourse to an expedient which will be reprobated by every principle of probity. *He caused *false bulletins* to be made, and employed for that purpose a surgeon (Mr. Baxter) who never saw the patient, and who consequently could not be a judge of his complaint; [23] and since November, 1817, such

[22.] "This is false. I did not require that he should be styled 'General Bonaparte,' but 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' the designation by which his followers, with his own acquiescence, had agreed that he should be called."

[23.] The following extract is taken from Mr. Baxter's observations on this part of O'Meara's letter, dated St. Helena, March 20, 1819:—"Some time ago I delivered to the Governor a paper containing my remarks on the assertion of Count Bertrand, that the bulletins, as he chose to style them, relative to Napoleon Bonaparte's health were false; and I again repeat that, upon my honour, the reports on that subject, as far as I could recollect from Mr. O'Meara's verbal statements to me, are most strictly correct. Mr. O'Meara says I could form no judgment of his complaint, having never seen him. Neither the one nor other was necessary, where I was merely required to forward a report framed by him."

EXTRACTS from a STATEMENT addressed to the LORDS of the ADMIRALTY by O'MEARA, sent with a LETTER to the FOREIGN COMMISSIONERS by Sir HUDSON LOWE, dated September 7, 1819.

Extract.—"In September, 1817, Napoleon Bonaparte having fallen seriously ill, bulletins were written daily, and Napoleon Bonaparte became

bulletins have been sent to England and to the different Courts of Europe by Sir Hudson Lowe, and by the Commissioners of the Allied Powers, to whom they were furnished by Sir Hudson Lowe.

Having failed in the applications which he made in London to effect my removal, Sir Hudson Lowe adopted a plan which he was aware must succeed. He had, on the 9th of October, 1816; 28th of May, 2nd of June, 28th of October, 1817;

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acquainted with them through *authorised* persons. He observed that he thought it very extraordinary and improper that his own surgeon should be obliged to make bulletins of the state of his illness without his knowledge, and declared that he would not see me again until I gave my word of honour that I would write no more without first obtaining his consent, and leaving the original in the possession of Count Bertrand. I did not like to make this engagement without first acquainting Sir Hudson Lowe, who returned an evasive answer, and made Napoleon Bonaparte wait several days for a decisive reply."

Governor's Remarks.—"The answer given *on the day* Mr. O'Meara made his report, viz. *October* 15, 1817, was, that the Governor was not aware of any objection to Napoleon Bonaparte seeing the bulletins, but that he would take another day to consider the matter. *On the next day* Mr. O'Meara was informed the Governor would require no written reports without authorising him to acquaint Napoleon Bonaparte of it; but as Napoleon Bonaparte would admit the visit of no other medical person than Mr. O'Meara, Sir Hudson Lowe on this account, as well as that of the use of the imperial title, would not require any, although it was frequently afterwards attempted to force upon him copies of bulletins addressed to and in the form '*authorised*' (as Mr. O'Meara says) *by Count Bertrand*, who then attempted to clandestinely circulate that the Governor *had bulletins sent to him, and refused to receive them.*"

Extract.—"At last, however, after Napoleon Bonaparte had been several days without seeing me, Sir Hudson Lowe authorised me to say that no more bulletins should be asked without his (Napoleon's) being acquainted with the demand. A difficulty presented itself in the compilation of the bulletins. Sir Hudson Lowe required that he should be styled General Bonaparte. Finally, however, Count Bertrand, after some discussion, authorised me to drop all titles, and to make use of the word 'patient.' This was communicated by me to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 15th October, 1817."

Governor's Remarks.—"This is false. The name required to be used was 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' being that by which Napoleon Bonaparte himself had requested the Governor would call him.—Vide extract of Mr. O'Meara's letter to Sir H. Lowe on the same day, viz. 15*th October*, 1817, by which it will appear Count Bertrand insisted the word 'l'Empereur' should be used."—W. F.

17th of February, 1818; and several other days, declared intentions of subjecting me to the same restrictions as those which he had inflicted on the French prisoners, to which I had invariably replied I would resign sooner than submit. On the 10th of April, 1818, he caused a letter (No. 7) to be written by Sir Thomas Reade, in which he signified to me (without assigning any reason for such an act) that he had imposed upon me restrictions even more arbitrary and capricious than those he had inflicted upon the French, as, by confining me to Longwood, within the precincts of which he allowed no person to enter without a pass, he deprived me of English society, while, at the same time, he prohibited me from holding any other intercourse than medical with the French, granting at the same moment to Napoleon Bonaparte, a prisoner, the power and privilege of passing an English officer at pleasure out of the bounds within which he had confined the latter. To this letter I replied by the one marked 8, and at the same time wrote the letter marked 9 to Count Bertrand, who sent directly for Major Gorrequer, aide-de-camp to Sir Hudson Lowe, who had latterly been frequently employed as an intermediator, desiring to make him fully comprehend the consequences of such a step; and the following morning, the 13th of April, Count Bertrand wrote the letter No. 10 to Sir Hudson Lowe, having, in the conference which he had with Major Gorrequer, communicated to the latter the letter which he had received in the morning, a copy of which the Governor sent for by the letter No. 11, to which a reply was made by the letter No. 12, which did not satisfy Sir Hudson Lowe, as will appear from letter No. 13, and on the 19th of April it was forwarded to him, accompanied by the letter No. 14. On the 21st Sir Hudson Lowe answered Count Bertrand by the letter No. 15, which did not arrive at Longwood until the 24th, at six o'clock in the evening, having crossed in its passage the letter No. 16. On the 14th of April Napoleon Bonaparte sent for me, in order to give me an audience prior to my departure, during which he declined receiving any more medical advice from me in the situation in which I was placed by Sir Hudson Lowe, and addressed me nearly in the following words:—"Eh bien! Docteur, vous allez nous quitter. Le monde concevra-t-il qu'on a eu la lâcheté d'attenter à mon médecin? Puisque vous êtes un simple lieutenant

soumis à tout l'arbitraire et à la discipline militaire, vous n'avez plus l'indépendance nécessaire pour que vos secours puissent m'être utiles. Je vous remercie de vos soins. Quittez le plutôt que vous pourrez ce séjour de ténèbres et de crimes; je mourrai sur un grabât, rongé de maladie et sans secours! Mais votre nation en sera déshonorée à jamais." He then bade me adieu, and refused to see me until the 10th of May, being the day after I was informed, by order of Sir Hudson Lowe, that he had taken off the restrictions which he had imposed on me on the 10th of April. On the 19th of April the letter marked 17 was written to me by Sir Thomas Reade, but did not reach Longwood until late in the evening of the 24th, on which day also the letter No. 18 was sent to me by Major Gorrequer; and the following day the letter No. 19, to which I returned the answer No. 20.

Sir Thomas Reade, on the 25th of April, wrote the letter 21 to Count Bertrand, who sent it back again to Plantation House, because it was not written according to the forms which had been in use for nearly three years, and joined to it the letter No. 22. Sir Hudson Lowe sent it back again at midnight. The morning after (the 27th) Count Bertrand brought it to Napoleon Bonaparte, who wrote on it the apostille marked 23, to which Count Bertrand added the letter 24, all of which he sent to Sir Hudson Lowe before midday, who again sent back his letters, and did not retain any except the one upon which the apostille was written.

On the 1st of May the letter 25 was written to me by Major Gorrequer, to which the answer 26 was returned; and on the 3rd of May Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard attacked me by the letter 27, which I answered by the one marked 28. On the 5th of May I wrote the letter 29 to Sir Thomas Reade.

Sir Hudson Lowe, however, finding that he could not succeed in his favourite plan of establishing a surgeon wholly devoted to himself with Napoleon Bonaparte, and that the latter was determined never to receive him, and having, moreover, been made to comprehend by authorised persons [23*a*] that, if Napoleon died, either during the time he kept me in confinement, without

[23*a*.] The "authorised persons" here meant were the foreign Commissioners, who positively denied that they had ever made any communication of the kind.—W. F.

bringing me to a trial or even preferring any charges against me, or under the hands of any surgeon forced upon him, strange surmises respecting his death would arise in England and Europe, and of which they themselves would be unable to give a satisfactory explanation, he decided upon removing the restrictions he had inflicted upon me, and caused the letter No. 30 to be written to me, after having kept me in confinement for twenty-seven days, during which he caused me to be successively assailed by all his staff, and, in order to ensnare me, required [me] to return, by a dragoon who waited, answers to letters composed by the united talents of Sir Hudson Lowe and his staff after seven days' reflection.

Previously, however, to permitting me to resume my medical functions at Longwood, Napoleon Bonaparte, in order to put a stop to the fabrication of any more bulletins, required that I should make out a report of the state of his health once a week, or oftener if necessary, a copy of which should be given to the Governor if he required it, as will appear from the letter marked 31, a copy of which and my answer I immediately submitted to Sir Hudson Lowe by the letters 32, 33, and 34. But Sir Hudson Lowe not only did not require it, but absolutely prohibited me from making him (Sir Hudson) any written report by the letter No. 35, and contented himself with compelling me to come to Plantation House whenever he thought proper, in order to make him verbal reports, which could be perverted at pleasure, not failing, according to his general custom, to abuse me whenever the caprice or malice of the moment incited him. The bulletins marked letter E were regularly made, and a copy of each reserved for Sir Hudson Lowe, should he ever desire them.

Being aware of the general indignation caused by his conduct, and by attempts which he had made to remove medical aid from Napoleon Bonaparte while lying upon a bed of sickness, he found that it was necessary for him to give a turn to the affair by insinuating that measures had been taken to corrupt the inhabitants by presents, and that I had been the agent in the plot, [24] which, if once established, would have diverted

[24.] This part of O'Meara's letter having been referred to the Rev. B. J. Vernon, that gentleman wrote the following note upon it:—"From

the public opinion from the real nature of his views, and would have justified his conduct as Governor, which then could no longer be attributed to the desire which he had to establish a person wholly devoted to himself about Napoleon Bonaparte. For this purpose, and in order to evade some ameliorations, ostensibly directed, in Napoleon Bonaparte's condition (as contained in a letter from Earl Bathurst dated the 1st of January, 1818), he framed the proclamation marked B, the object of which was to frighten and deceive, and which was ostentatiously handed about and placarded in the most conspicuous parts of the street: and, although in a letter written under his dictation (as appears from the extracts marked 36) he officially and specifically denied that the order of the 10th of April, 1818, was intended as a punishment, he at the same moment asserted to some of the principal persons in the island (whose names I will, if necessary, mention), to whom he thought himself obliged to render some explanation, that it had been inflicted as a punishment on me for having been supposed to have given a snuff-box to the Reverend Mr. Boys, the senior chaplain at St. Helena; a business in itself of so simple a nature as scarcely to merit observation, but which I shall relate in order to show the character of Sir Hudson Lowe's proceedings. M. Cipriani, the maître-d'hôtel at Longwood, having died of inflammation of the bowels on the 23rd of February, 1818, the English clergymen buried him on the 24th, with great ceremony; and, although it had been signified to them that he died in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church, they admitted his corpse into the Protestant church, and read the funeral service over it according to our ritual. General Montholon, having inquired what the custom was, was informed that the clergymen would accept of a small sum of money for the poor, but any fees of interment for themselves were refused. This induced General Montholon to testify Napoleon Bonaparte's satisfaction at such generous

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the manner in which Mr. O'Meara here expresses himself, as well as from his account to Colonel Wynyard, it may be supposed that the chaplains *solicited* a donation for the poor, which was by no means the case. General Montholon, finding that we declined receiving fees, desired Mr. O'Meara to ask whether he might be permitted to give something to the poor, such being *the custom in Roman Catholic countries*."

and honourable conduct, which reflected so much credit upon the tolerance of the Protestant religion, and he accordingly purchased two Chinese snuff-boxes, value 6*l.* or 7*l.* each, in order to make a present to both of them. Mr. Boys, being about to depart for England, breakfasted with General Montholon, and received the sum of 25*l.* for the poor, and subsequently the snuff-box intended for himself, an opportunity being waited for in order to consign the other box to the junior clergyman. Shortly afterwards Mr. Boys sailed for England, and, being desirous to receive the box with a complimentary letter through the channel of the Governor, he addressed himself to me for that purpose, and I returned the box, which I did not receive until the 24th of March, on which day I returned it to General Montholon, not having received it until the clergyman had left the island. [25] This is the important affair which gave rise to Sir Hudson Lowe's proclamation. Two days subsequently to its publication he commanded the orderly officer

[25.] "Here Mr. O'Meara distinctly says *that two boxes, value 6l. or 7l. each, were purchased, one of which was given to Mr. Boys, and an opportunity waited for to effect the difficult task of consigning the other to me.* The story told by him in the 'Exposition' is somewhat different. He there says, '*I bought one which* I thought would answer at the shop of Mr. Saul Solomon; and as Mr. Boys was upon the point of sailing for England, it was delivered by me to him, with General Montholon's compliments, *explaining at the same time that, when a similar one could be* PROCURED, it would be sent to Mr. Vernon'! Now it can be proved that this box, purchased from Mr. Saul Solomon, was bought on the 28*th March*, and cost 15*l.* In his letter to Colonel Wynyard Mr. O'Meara states that Mr. Boys *received the box when he breakfasted with General Montholon*, viz. on the 7*th March*, at the christening of one of General Montholon's children—*twenty-one days only before the box had been purchased!* Writing to Colonel Wynyard he expresses himself differently:—'Mr. Boys, having breakfasted with General Montholon, *received* 25*l. and the box.*' Here, however, the very indefinite word '*subsequently*' is introduced, which can be made to signify *an hour, a day, week, or month after*, as may best suit his purpose. Mr. Boys returned the box on the 3rd April; the conversation between Mr. O'Meara and myself took place on the 6th. It is not likely that he would have trusted the box and letter to remain in Mr. Lewis Solomon's shop long after that. Indeed the impression on my mind was, that Mr. O'Meara had received them before the conversation occurred. Be that as it may, Mr. L. Solomon can testify that they did not remain in his shop until the 24th, as asserted by Mr. O'Meara."

at Longwood to assemble all the English servants there, and read it to them, without giving notice to their masters. Napoléon Bonaparte, when informed of this circumstance, immediately sent away the English servants employed at Longwood House (as appears from letter 37), and who had been hired in place of Santini and two others, sent away by Sir Hudson Lowe in 1816.

Indefatigable in his exertions to get rid of me, Sir Hudson Lowe (who on the 17th of February, 1818, had threatened to give an order prohibiting my being received into society in the island, if I did not comply with his verbal insinuations) [26] endeavoured to disgust and annoy me by every kind of ill-treatment. The officers of the 53rd Regiment had done me the honour of selecting me an honorary member of their mess, and, on their departure from the island, the officers of the 66th Regiment, at the proposal of Lieut.-Colonel Nichol, their commanding officer, were pleased to confer a similar honour upon me. Sir Hudson Lowe employed Sir Thomas Reade to endeavour to fill Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles' mind (the then commanding officer) with the most insidious calumnies against me, in consequence of which Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles called on Lieutenant Reardon of the regiment (a friend of mine), to whom he related that it had been insinuated to him by Sir Thomas Reade that I had become displeasing to the sight of the Governor; that the officers ought to expel me from their mess, as having been dishonoured, and a person who had suffered insults from the Governor, who had turned me out of his house; and consequently that I was unfit for their society; insinuating that my expulsion would be very agreeable to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, he observed, had said that he would consider any person who was seen to associate with me as his personal enemy; as will appear from the extracts of Lieutenant Reardon's letter, marked 38. Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles concluded with begging of Lieutenant Reardon to persuade me to withdraw privately from the mess, as my presence there was displeasing to the Governor, protesting that, notwithstanding, he personally had a great esteem for me, and that all he desired

[26.] "False. No such order was ever given, or intention manifested."

was that I should withdraw privately from the mess; and that, if I did so, he himself would be one of the first to invite me to dine there as a guest.

Penetrating, however, Sir Hudson Lowe's views, and reflecting upon the opportunity he would then have of painting me in the blackest colours, and of representing that my conduct had been so bad as to compel the officers of the 66th Regiment to turn me out of the mess, if I slunk away secretly, and moreover being conscious of upright intentions and honourable conduct, I immediately wrote to Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles the letter marked 39, and the same evening met him coming to see me. He made me a great many professions of friendship, protested that personally he had a great esteem for my character, but, as the Governor was displeased with me, he begged I would withdraw from the mess as an honorary member until the affair between the Governor and myself was settled; that Sir Hudson Lowe desired that I should no longer mess with the regiment, and that he was afraid of his resentment being exercised upon himself and the officers of the 66th Regiment if he did not comply with his wishes; adding that he would be one of the first to come forward and ask me to dine with him at the mess, and that he knew there was not an officer in the regiment who would not "feel a pleasure and pride in doing the same;" moreover, that he would be always ready to step forward and testify "to the strict propriety and honour of my conduct." He also said that he had been shown by Sir Thomas Reade, not the whole or greater part of the correspondence, but some secret document which had never been communicated to me (and the contents of which probably were false). He concluded by repeating the professions he had before made, in which sentiments of esteem for me he declared he knew every officer in the regiment participated. I replied to Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles, that clandestine misrepresentations, from their being unknown to me, might remain unrefuted; that no person was secure from the breath of calumny; that, however, I was ready to submit the whole of the correspondence between the Governor and myself to the judgment of the regiment, or to submit to any other scrutiny which he or they might devise, and to abide by their decision; but that I

never would renounce the honour which the officers of the 66th Regiment had done me in granting me a seat at their table, unless (according to the custom of the army) by a vote of the mess, or by an order from the Governor.

This answer was communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, foreseeing that the consequence of his conduct was submitted to the inspection and judgment of a liberal and discerning corps of officers, sent an order by Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham, to Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles, to exclude me from the mess, which was communicated to me by the letter marked No. 40 (written by Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles), without assigning any motive for an act until then unprecedented in the army.

Being desirous of obtaining every authentic information to establish the fact that this new outrage had been effected by order of Sir Hudson Lowe, I waited the next day upon General Sir George Bingham, by whom I was received in a very friendly manner, invited to breakfast, and informed that he had been commanded to carry into execution the order that I should no longer be permitted to be an honorary member of the 66th mess. Having obtained the information desired, I returned to Longwood and wrote the farewell letter marked 41 to the officers of the 66th Regiment, to which the answer marked 42 was returned on the following morning.

The officers of the 66th Regiment manifested thus honourably to themselves, upon this occasion, the indignation which they felt at such arbitrary and unprecedented conduct, and the business, instead of leaving any ambiguity with respect to the sentiments entertained by the regiment, has proclaimed the rancour and tyranny of the Governor, and the opinion which a highly distinguished corps of officers entertained of the victim of his oppression. [27]

Some days subsequent to this, the increasing malady of Napoleon Bonaparte rendered the employment of mercurial preparations indispensable, and they were accordingly commenced on the 11th of June, 1818; but an interruption of the treatment was produced, in consequence of a severe catarrh

[27.] The *true* history of these transactions has been given previously in the narrative, pp. 25-31, *ante*.—W. F.

caused by the humidity and ruinous state of the wretched apartments in which he resides, and the bleak and damp situation of the building. This I communicated officially to Sir Hudson Lowe in writing, by the letter marked 43, indisposition having prevented me from proceeding personally to Plantation House.

On the 10th of July, very alarming symptoms having appeared in Napoleon Bonaparte, partly produced by the use of the mercury, and being in considerable alarm about my patient and my own reputation,—the insinuation which had been made to me, and the great responsibility attached to me, having rendered me most scrupulously cautious about my patient,—I insisted upon obtaining what I had frequently before most forcibly urged the necessity of, viz. the advice and assistance of other professional men, and for that purpose proposed to call in any of the following medical gentlemen:—Messrs. Baxter, Stokoe, Livingstone, Henry, and Verling, recommending Messrs. Baxter and Stokoe as the two first on the island. Napoleon Bonaparte, however, manifested great repugnance to Mr. Baxter, whom he designated as having been "Chirurgien Major d'un régiment de déserteurs Corses, dont Sir H. Lowe avait été le Colonel, et parcequ'il a assisté à la rédaction de faux bulletins sans avoir vu le malade," and for other reasons, but consented to see Mr. Stokoe, who was sent for about half-past six in the morning. At about three p.m. Mr. Stokoe arrived and examined the medical journal of Napoleon Bonaparte's case, but, being apprehensive of the resentment which would be wreaked upon him if his opinion should not be in unison with secret views, and being a man possessed of too much honour to reconcile his conscience to adapt his testimony to such views in order to pay his court, he begged to decline the honour of seeing Napoleon Bonaparte, unless in the presence of some surgeon specifically chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe. [28] After having read the journal, however, he gave

[28.] Upon this statement Rear-Admiral Plampin wrote, "An impudent falsehood. Mr. Stokoe informed me, on his return from Longwood, that he desired O'Meara to name to Bonaparte, Verling, Baxter, and others, and requested him to name one to be present." Sir Hudson Lowe observes, "*Vide* Mr. O'Meara's letter of July 10, 1818, and that of Mr. Stokoe of July 13, 1818, as to the causes of the latter at that time not seeing Napoleon

me his opinion that the disease was *hepatitis*, and strongly recommended a continuance of the mercurial treatment. The same day I was sent for by Sir Hudson Lowe, in order to make verbal reports; but not conceiving myself justified in leaving Napoleon Bonaparte in the alarming state he was, I wrote to Major Gorrequer the letter marked 44, for the information of Sir Hudson Lowe, who was then recovering himself from a severe fit of illness.

Some days subsequent to this, Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer at Longwood (who had long been weary of a situation in which Sir Hudson Lowe obliges British officers to degrade themselves by performing the duties of a gendarme, and whose honourable feelings and sentiments were wounded by Sir Hudson Lowe's having required him to make a report of the conversation and actions of the persons with whom he daily sat down to table in that confidence always existing amongst brother officers), [29] obtained his release, and was replaced by Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, who formerly belonged to the same regiment with Sir Hudson Lowe, and now holds the temporary and local rank of Lieut.-Colonel, in virtue of his situation as Inspector of Militia. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Jackson of the staff corps, who had been before Observer upon General Gourgaud, from the time of the latter's having quitted Longwood until his final departure from the island. Lieut.-Colonel Lyster was sent by direction of the Adjutant-General, Sir Thomas Reade, to Longwood, in my absence, with orders, as he said, to take possession of the quarters which had been allotted to the orderly officer and surgeon, which he executed by seizing upon (in my absence and without any previous inti-

Bonaparte, in neither of which a word is said about *a surgeon chosen by Sir Hudson Lowe*. The more natural inference is, that Mr. Stokoe, when called upon to attend Napoleon Bonaparte in July, 1818, in company with Mr. O'Meara, wished another medical man to divide with him the responsibility of adopting Mr. O'Meara's opinions as to the malady, and did not then choose to trust himself with Mr. O'Meara alone (*vide* p. 32, *ante*). What became, however, of all Mr. Stokoe's apprehensions of responsibility (*vide* his letter of July 13) when he did consent to see Napoleon Bonaparte alone in January, 1819?"

[29.] Captain Blakeney declared a similar statement by Count Bertrand to be "*false*," and "*an infamous calumny*." He says he resigned because his situation deprived him of the society of his brother officers.—W. F.

mation to me) the common mess and store rooms, mess articles, &c., furnished by Government for the joint mess of the orderly officer and surgeon; and on my arrival I found his servants busied in turning my effects out of doors. He concluded his proceedings upon that day by avowing most unequivocally the nature of his own and of Lieutenant Jackson's employment to General Montholon, to whom he signified, when asked if there were two orderly officers, and for what purpose Lieutenant Jackson was sent to Longwood, "parceque quatre yeux sont mieux que deux." His outrageous conduct obliged me to send him the letter marked 45, and the letters 46, 47, 48, followed. He also gave the Governor's orders that the officer of the guard should examine minutely every bundle, packet, or parcel entering or going out of Longwood, not excepting even the foul linen of the French ladies, giving as a reason that, if this were not done, peradventure Bonaparte (whom at the same time he fervently wished in the possession of the devil) "might be able to procure some books." [29*a*] On the 22nd of July a protest against the further continuance of Lieut.-Colonel Lyster at Longwood was (by order of Napoleon Bonaparte) written by Count Bertrand, and grounded upon reasons stated in 49.

The protest was shown by Sir H. Lowe to Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, who, on the 24th of July, sent a written challenge to fight a duel to Count Bertrand, marked No. 50, which was delivered by the hands of Lieutenant Jackson to Count Bertrand. In it he stigmatized the Count as a base and infamous sycophant of the far-famed Corsican, and concluded by offering to provide him with pistols for the rencontre, which he proposed should take place on the following morning. Count Bertrand, considering him as a second, enclosed a copy of his letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, with the letter marked 51. The next morning another defiance was written by Lieutenant Jackson, on the part of Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, to Count Bertrand, demanding that the time and place should be named forthwith, and was soon followed by a second from Lieut.-Colonel Lyster himself, written in some more opprobrious terms than the first; and on the 25th of July Lieut.-Colonel Lyster was removed from Longwood, as will be seen by the letter 52.

[29*a*.] The utter falsehood of this statement has been shown in the note at p. 82 of this volume.—W. F.

I must take the liberty, Sir, of calling your attention to compare Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct in this instance with that pursued by him in April last, on the occasion of my having simply written a letter to Count Bertrand announcing my resignation and motives for so doing. The latter action was pronounced by Sir Hudson Lowe, in his judicial capacity as Governor, highly criminal and punishable; but in the former a most indecent provocation to commit murder, because given by two of his own agents, was not only tolerated, but attempted to be extenuated, and one of the parties concerned still retained in office in the place where the offence was committed. The circumstance of Sir Hudson Lowe's having shown Count Bertrand's letter to Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, I presume, Sir, needs no comment.

On the 25th July last, at about half-past four P.M., Captain Blakeney, who had been sent to Longwood again to supersede Lieut.-Colonel Lyster, delivered to me the letter marked 53, which he had been specially ordered by Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard (Sir Hudson Lowe's military secretary) to give into my own hands. This letter contained a command, without any previous intimation or warning having been given either to the inhabitants of Longwood or myself, [30] for me to quit Longwood forthwith without seeing any of my patients. Humanity, the duties of the profession, and the situation of my principal patient, then very ill and requiring a daily administration of medicine, alike forbade a compliance with this unfeeling command, and I proceeded to Napoleon Bonaparte's apartment, to whom I communicated the orders I had received, gave my advice for the continuance of the remedies he was taking and the practice I thought he should follow, recommended him to choose a surgeon amongst some gentlemen whom I named, until the arrival of the physician expected from France or Italy, received his farewell, and departed, after having furnished his valet-de-chambre with a supply of the medicines he had been taking for six weeks. At this time also a letter was received by General Montholon from Sir Hudson Lowe, in which he announced my removal and again proposed Mr. Baxter (whom a few days before he had endeavoured to introduce) as a sub-

[30.] "Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard was instructed to allow Dr. O'Meara to see Napoleon Bonaparte, but in the presence of a second person."

stitute for me, as will be seen from letter 54. This proposal Napoleon Bonaparte answered by declaring, "Je ne prendrai des remèdes, je ne recevrai des soins, que de mon propre médecin; et si j'en suis privé, je n'en recevrai de personne, et je me tiendrai pour assassiné par lui:" and the reply No. 55 was sent by General Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe.

During my absence from my apartment Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard had, without my knowledge, taken upon himself to order my servants to pack up my effects, which they were obliged to do with great precipitation and in open trunks. [31] On my return I put what money I had in gold in my pockets, and consigned 600 or 700 dollars to Captain Blakeney in order to be sent to me on the following morning, put some presents I had received into my pockets, and several articles of jewellery (some of them very valuable) into my writing-desk, in the presence of three witnesses, and left Longwood, after having received a specific promise from Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard (to whom I explained the open and insecure state of my things) that one of my servants should be permitted to remain with my baggage at Hutt's Gate, where he informed me that it must be deposited for that night. Instead of fulfilling this promise, however, the moment it arrived at Hutt's Gate it was received by Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, who had galloped on for that purpose, and who, acting no doubt according to orders from the Governor, compelled my servants to abandon it to persons in the Government employ, and proceed themselves to Brigade-Major Harrison, who had orders to send them off to town forthwith, directing one of them to return on the following morning in order to have the remainder of my baggage and his own delivered up to him. Instead of fulfilling this, however, Jones, the man who went up in obedience to these directions and to a signal made from Plantation House, was upon his arrival seized, thrown into the guard-room, detained there as a prisoner, and

[31.] O'Meara repeated this story in his 'Exposition;' and Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard drew up a refutation of the statement, accompanied by authentic documents, to prove the misrepresentations of that work, "though he considered it," he said, "almost a reflection on the character of a British officer to be obliged to vindicate himself from aspersions invented by a man of Mr. O'Meara's principles, and published in a work notorious for its falsehood."—W. F.

refused permission to see my effects. The following day I reported myself to Admiral Plampin, by whose secretary, Mr. Elliott, I was informed, by the Admiral's directions, that I was to proceed to England in the Griffon, and from whom I obtained permission to remain on shore until the Griffon was ready to sail. On my return to town, at two P.M., feeling the necessity there was of promptly affording medical assistance to Napoleon Bonaparte, and conceiving that humanity would have suggested to any one possessing the feelings of a man the propriety of sending to me whatever surgeon might be chosen to replace me, in order that he might be able to make himself fully acquainted with the case, and consult with me touching the practice necessary to be followed, [32] I wrote to Major Gorrequer, for the Governor's information, the letter marked 56, which was returned to me unopened with letter 57.

About half-past four Mr. Baxter (whom the Governor had been lately so often informed Napoleon Bonaparte would never receive either as a private or consulting surgeon) came to me and read some extracts of a letter said by him to have been written by directions of the Governor, and which contained a demand for my medical journal of Napoleon Bonaparte's complaint, and for copies of all the bulletins, which Sir Hudson Lowe had before refused to receive, and had returned when sent to him. I replied to Mr. Baxter, first, that I had not yet received my baggage, which had been detained at Hutt's Gate; secondly, that the journal in question was not amongst the papers contained in my baggage; thirdly, that, even if it were, I would not think it consistent with propriety, with the respect due to the patient, or with the rules of the profession, to deliver it up into the hands of a strange surgeon, not called in by him,

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[32.] "*Vide* Mr. Baxter's letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, of July 26, 1818, proving that he was sent to Mr. O'Meara, and that Mr. O'Meara had refused to show his Journal, or make him acquainted with the case. *Vide* also Major Gorrequer's letter to Mr. O'Meara, of July 26, 1818, returning Mr. O'Meara's letter, proving that Mr. Baxter had been sent to Mr. O'Meara, and had brought the Governor his answer, before Mr. O'Meara's letter was received by Major Gorrequer. Why did Mr. O'Meara refuse to exhibit the Journal? Did not even humanity require it? At the island of Ascension Mr. O'Meara told Mr. Hall, surgeon of H.M.S. Favourite, he was taking the Journal home to lay it before Ministers."

without having first obtained his consent; that, provided it was granted, I had no objection to the journal's being given to him, but that common delicacy and the rules of the profession required that, prior to my making known my patient's case to a strange surgeon, his consent should be first obtained, and that acting otherwise would be a breach of that confidence which the sick repose in their medical attendants; fourthly, that the journal had been left at Longwood in the possession of the person appointed by Napoleon Bonaparte to receive it, viz. Count Bertrand; fifthly, that I was ready to give him copies of the bulletins as soon as my papers arrived, as the Governor was entitled to a copy of them, and I had frequently before offered them, and even sent him one, which had been returned, with a prohibition to send any more, and an accusation of unlawful conduct.

Mr. Baxter replied that this would not answer, and that he must either have the journal itself or a copy of it, and added, after a good deal of hesitation, that he would give up any patient's case to a strange surgeon without ever consulting the sick person, or indeed caring about his feelings. I replied to Mr. Baxter that he might do so, but I certainly would not; he then observed that Dr. Verling had been sent to Longwood by the Governor's orders, and that the French might consult him (Dr. Verling) or let it alone, insinuating that, if they did not choose to do so, they would get nobody else.

Directly after this Mr. Weston, the gaoler of the common prison [33] of the island, who had been waiting at Sir Thomas Reade's house, came and informed me that he had received orders from the Governor to see me off the island; that I must depart within an hour, and not proceed farther up in the town than the church, near to which I was then standing. I demanded his authority; he showed me a written order to that effect, of which the letter marked 58 is a true copy attested by himself. I then wrote to Mr. Secretary Brooke the letter 59, and, signal having been made for a lieutenant of the Griffon, I proceeded down to the beach to embark, guarded by the gaoler and dogged by two police sergeants.

The following morning I received a letter by which I was

[33.] "Mr. Weston was Marshal of the Civil Court."

informed that my baggage had been secretly rummaged and my papers examined at Hutt's Gate. No. 60.

None of my creditors or debtors were allowed access to me, nor was I permitted to proceed on shore to them to settle my accounts; and Lieutenant Reardon, of the 66th regiment, who, by application of Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham to the Governor, was allowed to transact my affairs, was not permitted to come on board in order to obtain the necessary information for that purpose from me, as will appear from extracts No. 61. Several officers and some of the most respectable inhabitants [34] who asked permission to go on board of the Griffon to see me were refused with asperity and menaces; but as it was not in Sir Hudson Lowe's power to prevent naval officers from visiting me, he was obliged to content himself with placing a spy on Ladder Hill, with orders to watch the Griffon and report the names of all persons who visited her, [35] amongst whom were nearly the whole of the officers of the squadron, of all ranks.

On Thursday the 28th (after having been kept for three days destitute of clothes) part of my baggage was sent to me. Upon opening my writing-desk I found that advantage had been taken of the time it was in the custody of the Governor's agents (in whose possession it had remained from the time that Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard took charge of it until it was delivered to my servant on the 27th) to take out all the jewellery (with the exception of a cornelian necklace), some of which were inestimable to me, in consequence of having received them as presents.

The firm of Cole and Co. having applied to the Governor for permission to go on board the Griffon, in order to settle their accounts with me, it was refused to any of the principals of the house, but Sir H. Lowe selected out one of the clerks, whom he named and sent on board the Griffon, with directions to report on his return everything I had said, and to bring any letters he might receive from me to Sir Thomas Reade; he was accordingly followed to the beach by two police sergeants, who lay in wait for him at his return, in order to conduct him to the place of interrogation. Letter £2.

[34.] "As no individual is here named, it becomes impossible to reply; but the whole is a fabrication."

[35.] "This is a deliberate falsehood."

In consequence of Sir Hudson Lowe's having refused to permit any personal explanation between my creditors, debtors, and myself, I have suffered a loss of about 200*l.* sterling, which I was myself obliged to pay rather than run the risk of making an improper charge upon others. After having well examined my trunks, in order to ascertain correctly the number of things taken out while my baggage was in the hands of the Governor's agents, I conceived it necessary, as the Governor had refused to receive any communication from me, to apply to the chief of my own department for redress, and, accordingly, upon the 30th July, wrote to Admiral Plampin the letter marked 63, which, with his reply 64, and my letter of explanation marked 65, I have the honour to annex.

The next morning I was summoned on shore by the civil magistrate by letter 66, in order to make my deposition. I had, however, scarcely proceeded fifty paces along the Marine ere I was arrested by a sentinel in consequence of orders from Sir Hudson Lowe (although accompanied at the moment by Mr. Heale, the civil officer, sent off by Mr. Brooke to summon me on shore), and detained until released by Town-Major Cole. Upon my arrival at the Castle, after having sworn, to the best of my belief and knowledge, to the truth of the statement of the losses as detailed in the letter 63, I was interrogated on oath by the magistrate, but a copy of my deposition, by order of Sir H. Lowe, [36] was refused to my application, and I have never been informed that any recovery of my property

[36.] "The magistrate (Sir George Bingham) refused it of his own authority. No application was made to Sir Hudson Lowe on the subject." Sir George Bingham said, "As acting Member of Council, it was my turn to attend to the police duty of the island for the quarter during which the complaint was made. I therefore received Mr. O'Meara's deposition on oath, in form of a letter addressed to Rear-Admiral Plampin; and I put such interrogatories as I thought would best tend to elucidate the affair in question. Nothing beyond a light suspicion could attach to any of those examined. The persons who had at any time Mr. O'Meara's baggage under their charge were searched, but no trace appeared the least likely to lead to a discovery of where the articles were said to have been lost, or by whom they had been taken. I refused Mr. O'Meara a copy of his examination, and I grounded my refusal not on any reference to the Governor, but having been informed by R. Leall, Esq., the Clerk of the Peace, that it was not customary."

has been effected, or of what measures may have been had recourse to in order to discover and bring to justice the perpetrators.

The deposition of my servant I have also the honour to enclose.

In closing my professional connection with Napoleon Bonaparte, I think it my duty to lay before their Lordships a short statement of the manner in which his health has been and may be further affected by the climate in which he now resides, and by the treatment which he, his companions and followers, have habitually experienced.

Almost immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in St. Helena, he endeavoured to prevent all intercourse between the prisoners at Longwood and the officers, inhabitants, and others. His desire to accomplish this induced him to inform Count Bertrand that the French were not permitted to make purchases in the shops, and that, if they had done so previously to his arrival, it was only an abuse and not in consequence of a right. In furtherance of this he also sent his aide-de-camp, Major Gorrequer, round to the different shopkeepers to forbid them selling the French any goods unless for ready money, menacing them with the severest punishments if guilty of any infraction of this order. [37] Some were even prohibited from selling them articles for ready money. He also prevented the officers of the 53rd regiment, the inhabitants, and others who had been in the habit of visiting Madame Bertrand and Longwood, from any further continuance of their visits, either by direct prohibitions, insinuations, or by obliging them to go through degrading formalities and interrogations [38]. On the 30th September, 1816, he reduced the allowance of provisions, wines, &c., to the amount described in the scale marked C, the quantities fixed in which were designated by himself, although his aide-de-camp Major Gorrequer [39] was informed by General Montholon, in my presence, of the total insufficiency of the

[37.] This was denied by Major Gorrequer on oath, in February, 1823, at the time of the application for a criminal information against O'Meara for libel.—W. F.

[38.] This was denied on oath by several witnesses in 1823.—W. F.

[39.] Major Gorrequer's answer to the statement about provisions has been given in the text. *Vide* pp. 121-146, *ante*.—W. F.

quantities fixed by Sir Hudson Lowe, which was confirmed to him and his aide-de-camp both by the orderly officer and myself, and he was also warned by us that the maître-d'hôtel had ordered a quantity of plate to be broken up in order to provide money for the purchase of the necessaries of life, [40] a sufficient quantity of which was not allowed by him. No further steps, however, were adopted by Sir Hudson Lowe than ordering that the money derived from the sale of the plate, amounting in the first instance to about 238*l*., should not be received by them, but should be deposited in the hands of the purveyor, to be drawn from time to time in small sums. An explanation given to him by the maître-d'hôtel on the 30th December, 1816, in which the deficiencies were specifically and individually enumerated, and an account given to him of each and every article purchased, produced no other amelioration or augmentation than a countermand of an order he had just given for a further reduction in the quantity of bread on the departure of Count Las Cases. A similar explanation had been also frequently given to Sir Hudson Lowe by myself, more particularly on the 4th December, 1816, on which day I enumerated to him individually the deficiencies and the articles purchased by them. Sir Thomas Reade, however, was directed to assist the maître-d'hôtel in preserving the provisions which he purchased with the plate money (which plate was bought by the Governor himself, [41] who paid the price of it at 5*s*. the ounce); and an order was given in writing by the Governor, directing Mr. Breame, the Company's farmer, to supply the French monthly with a stipulated quantity of veal at their own expense (a compliance with which caused him subsequently to be turned out of his situation by Sir Hudson Lowe, [42] which act was disapproved by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and Mr. Breame was reinstated). Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, having been rigidly restricted by Sir Hudson Lowe to

[40.] See O'Meara's statement, that Bonaparte admitted to him that the plate was broken up for the purpose of creating an effect, vol. i. p. 289.—W. F.

[41.] "The Governor has never even seen the plate in question."

[42.] "Mr. Breame was removed from the superintendence of the Company's farms on grounds which were fully detailed to the Court of Directors."

a certain price in the purchase of sheep, the mutton was frequently of a very bad quality, as no good sheep were to be obtained from the farmers at the price fixed by him, although good ones were to be purchased at a considerable increase.

Similar restrictions in the price of the poultry also frequently prevented any of good quality from arriving at Longwood. The beef, until Sir Hudson Lowe thought proper, in October 1817, to order that island bullocks should be slaughtered, was almost invariably of a bad quality, and, notwithstanding the frequent representations to that effect made both by the orderly officer and myself, no amelioration of consequence took place until that period, and the meat, originally bad in quality, from being carted up in the sun was often on its arrival stinking and unfit for human use. The same took place also with many other edibles, and several articles indispensable to the table were frequently of bad quality, in consequence of Sir Hudson Lowe's having compelled the purveyor to purchase damaged and musty provisions out of the Company's stores, because they were to be obtained much cheaper there than good and merchantable articles of the same kind could be purchased in the shops. In doing this he acted directly contrary to the system established by Sir George Cockburn, who had ordered the purveyor to provide invariably the best articles for the French at any price by which they might be obtained. The bread also was in general extremely bad, and the water invariably so during the summer months.

Soon after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival fresh butter was no longer sent to Napoleon Bonaparte; and I have been credibly informed that the milk of the cows specifically destined for that purpose by Sir George Cockburn was ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to be sent to his own house [43].

Any savings made by the French in articles allowed by the Governor, and not consumed by them (the English confectionery, for example), [44] were ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe

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[43.] All these charges respecting the want or badness of provisions were answered by Major Gorrequer. *Vide* pp. 121-146, *ante*.—W. F.

[44.] "Half of the sum appropriated in the schedule for confectionery having been represented by the maître-d'hôtel, through the purveyor, as sufficient for the use of the establishment, and a request made that the

to be credited to the account of Government, instead of allowing the French to balance by means of them (as they desired) any increased consumption in other articles beyond the amount indicated in the scale C.

On the 9th of October, 1816, he issued the code of restrictions marked D, by which he reduced the limits from the large space established by Sir George Cockburn, to a road of twelve feet wide, prohibiting the French from stirring off it and speaking to any person they might meet unless in the presence of a British officer, from entering into any houses; and Sir Thomas Reade suggested that it would be right to deprive Napoleon Bonaparte of his books if he did not comply with whatever Sir Hudson Lowe desired [45].

Sir Hudson Lowe also rigidly prohibited that any person should lend Napoleon Bonaparte, or any of the French, books, pamphlets, and, above all, newspapers. Even the newspapers sent by His Majesty's Government were first examined by Sir Hudson Lowe at his own house, and only such as he pleased sent to the French prisoners. This fact I personally ascertained at Plantation House and Longwood. In order to prevent the possibility of newspapers reaching Longwood, he caused Sir Thomas Reade to attend at the post-office at the opening of the mails, by whom newspapers arriving for other British subjects were seized and sent to Sir Hudson Lowe; and Sir Hudson Lowe himself required and endeavoured to compel Mr. Cole, the postmaster, to furnish him with all such letters addressed to British subjects residing in St. Helena as he thought proper, in order that he might secretly open them and examine their contents [46]. He even required of me to render him an account of what books I received or purchased; and on the 12th of September, 1817, he reproached me, in a manner unusual amongst gentlemen, for having in my possession the following pamphlets

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surplus might be applied to an increase of vegetables, the following memorandum was sent by Major Gorrequer to the purveyor, and from that date acted upon :—'Nov. 21, 1816. If the whole sum for confectionery is not used, the saving under that head may be laid out in vegetables, if so required.'"

[45.] "This is an infamous falsehood."

[46.] See Mr. Cole's letter at page 119 for a refutation of these assertions.—W. F.

without acquainting him [47]:—'The British Ladies' Magazine,' January, 1817; 'New Monthly Magazine,' ditto; 'European Magazine,' for December, 1816; 'Eclectic Review,' January, 1817; 'Gentleman's Magazine,' December, 1816; 'Monthly Review,' December, 1816; 'Ackerman's Repository,' January, 1817; all of which he obliged me to send forthwith to his house, where they have been ever since detained. He also interdicted me most positively, on that day and many others, from either lending books, newspapers, or even communicating information derived by me from books or papers, either to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or to any of his suite, under pain of being considered a bearer of unauthorised communications, and punished accordingly for a breach of the proclamation marked A, to which he referred, and in which he had denounced such communications as felonious.

Verbal communications with the inhabitants or others were in a similar manner prohibited by him; and everything entering or leaving Longwood for the French, not even excepting the foul linen, ordered to be submitted to an examination of men [48].

The officers, inhabitants, and others who obtained an interview with Napoleon Bonaparte, were obliged by Sir Hudson Lowe to make a report to him (frequently in writing) of what had been said to them by Napoleon in conversation. This he even required from the officers of the highest rank, both of the army and navy, and several officers were required to report what conversation passed at the private tables of British officers of the most superior rank and station [49].

The French are not permitted to dispose of their own money without having first rendered to him an account for what purpose it is intended; and all accounts, bills, &c., are obliged to be submitted to the inspection of the orderly officer, who is required to affix his signature thereon; and on the 8th of

[47.] "All these magazines were received at the same time, and contained reviews of Mr. Warden's book, which he sent to Dr. O'Meara to be communicated to Napoleon Bonaparte and his followers. They were given to Sir Hudson Lowe by Dr. O'Meara himself."

[48.] This was indignantly denied by Captain Blakeney. See page 82 of this volume.—W. F.

[49.] This was denied *upon oath* by several deponents in 1823.—W. F.

April, 1818, Sir Hudson Lowe required that the French should not draw more than 100*l.* per month for the extra expenses of the establishment and of their private families, but that, when Madame Bertrand or the others wanted to make purchases, she or they should apply through the orderly officer to Major Gorrequer, specifying then and there that payment should be made to the vendors by "bons" drawn upon Major Gorrequer, and countersigned by the orderly officer at Longwood.

On the 7th of February, 1817, a proposal was sent by Napoleon Bonaparte to Sir Hudson Lowe (in answer to one from the latter), that he should send to Count Bertrand a list, framed by himself, of such houses within the limits as he did not wish Napoleon or the French to enter, which he was informed would be complied with by them. This proposal was first accepted and then rejected by Sir Hudson Lowe, who desired me to "tell Napoleon Bonaparte that he might consider himself extremely fortunate in having so good a man as himself (Sir Hudson Lowe) to deal with, as a great many other general officers would have put him in chains" [50]; and another proposal made to Sir Hudson Lowe, that he himself [51] should make out a list of such individuals as he would permit to visit Longwood, and either leave their names at the guard-room, or allow them to enter Longwood upon Count Bertrand's invitation, was evaded in a similar manner.

In the latter end of October, 1817, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Count Bertrand that he had granted permission that any persons invited by him might enter Longwood, provided that such invitation was sent through the orderly officer. This, however, he never communicated to the latter, who, when asked by me some weeks subsequently whether Count Bertrand's invitation, through him, would admit visitors to Longwood, replied "Most certainly not, and that he would not allow any to enter in virtue of them" [52]: The first, and I believe the

[50.] "The word 'chains' was never used."

[51.] "It was Count Bertrand who was requested to make out the list, but which he never would do."

[52.] Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer alluded to, said on this statement, "I have not the least recollection whatever of Mr. O'Meara's ever putting such a question to me, or of my having ever replied to him as is here stated, or having any conversation with him upon the subject. How-

only time, that Count Bertrand attempted to avail himself of this offer of Sir Hudson Lowe's some weeks after it had been made, his invitation was not communicated to the individual demanded, Mr. Cole (one of the most respectable gentlemen residing on the island), until eight days after it had been made, when, finding that Count Bertrand had several times required to know the cause of his absence, Sir Hudson Lowe sent to Mr. Cole, interrogated and menaced him, insinuating to him that it would be advisable not to speak to Count Bertrand unless in the presence of the orderly officer, and concluded by ordering him to make a report to him of the conversation which might pass.

Mr. Hobhouse sent, in July, 1816, a copy of his work upon France to Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request that it might be presented to Napoleon Bonaparte. It was, however, withheld and concealed by Sir Hudson Lowe, until a discovery was made by an officer of rank, who had seen it accidentally at Plantation House, and who mentioned the circumstance at Longwood. Finding concealment no longer possible, Sir Hudson Lowe then said he had detained it because it had not passed through the Secretary of State's office [53].

On the 30th of May, 1817, the captain of the Baring storeship reported to Sir Thomas Reade that the gunner of his vessel had brought on board a white marble bust of young Napoleon, and asked information of him as to the best mode of sending it to the father. Sir Thomas Reade answered, that there was a positive order against sending any object to Long-

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ever, had I been asked whether, if a person presented himself at the barrier with an invitation from Count Bertrand, without its having gone in the regular form through me, I would not have admitted him; but if an invitation had been delivered to me open, to be forwarded, I should have forwarded it, reporting the circumstance at the same time to the Governor, in conformity to a particular instruction I had received from him to acquaint him of the first instance that it occurred; but no invitations were ever sent to me, except for tradespeople to come upon business, and those were always forwarded by me; and they were invariably admitted, without any reference whatever to the Governor."

[53.] Sir Hudson Lowe said nothing of the kind. This affair has been related at pp. 192-3 of vol. i.—W. F.

wood that had not previously passed through the Secretary of State's office, and advised him to cause it to be broken in pieces and thrown overboard. The circumstance, however, was made public, and on the 10th of June the bust was sent to Count Bertrand [54].

On the 3rd of February, 1818, Mr. Barber, supercargo of the Cambridge store-ship, arrived at St. Helena, where he opened a shop. He brought with him two beautiful portraits of young Napoleon, which he had bought in some of the print-shops in London, for the purpose of selling them to some of the inhabitants of Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe, informed of this, caused them both to be delivered to him, pretending that it was for the purpose of sending them directly to the father, but in reality to deprive him of them, as neither of them have ever been sent to Longwood since [55]. When merchant-ships arrive at St. Helena from England, the captains are obliged to submit a list of all their books, pamphlets, &c., to Sir Hudson Lowe; and all books of a political nature are specially required to be sent to him before they are permitted to expose them for sale, and he whole of the copies of interesting works are bought up by Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade, pretending frequently

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[54.] See the true account of the bust in vol. ji. pp. 145-153.—W. F.

[55.] "It is false that Sir Hudson Lowe ever caused these prints to be brought to him, or pretended to offer them to the father. They had been sent up to him as common prints to look at, without his having had any previous communication either with the captain of the vessel or the purser, and he was never informed or ever understood that they were destined to be sold at Longwood. As Governor of St. Helena it was not for him to be sending up prints of Napoleon II., with tricolor decorations on them. Napoleon Bonaparte had besides already several portraits of his son. To any feelings Napoleon Bonaparte might possess as a father, Sir Hudson Lowe had not shown himself insensible, having made it an invariable rule to send to him immediately any newspaper which spoke of his son's health or situation, or of any fortune or honours which the Court of Austria had conferred upon him. When, in regard to these feelings, Sir Hudson Lowe sent to Napoleon Bonaparte a marble bust of his son, brought to St. Helena by a foreign sailor, it drew upon him only a torrent of abuse and calumny, because he did not send it up instantly it arrived, before it was possible for him to speak to the man who brought it, or to know by whom it was sent. This has been a common return for most acts of attention attempted to be shown."

that they are purchased for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte, but in reality to prevent the possibility of his obtaining them, as occurred on the arrival of the Phœnix and Mangles store-ships from England, on the 6th and 7th of June 1818, [56].

Articles of dress, &c., for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte and suite, and ordered in London through the channel of Sir Hudson Lowe, are not sent up to Longwood until several weeks have elapsed after their arrival at St. Helena, as occurred in the instances of the Mangles and Lady Carrington store-ships, when cases brought out by the former vessel on the 7th of June were not sent to Longwood until late in July following; and some brought by the latter, which arrived on the 26th of June (all of them containing articles of which the French were in much want), not until the 30th of July, notwithstanding that frequent applications had been made by the French to have them sent up [57].

On the 9th of May, 1818, a letter was received by Count Bertrand from Sir Hudson Lowe, containing extracts from a letter of Earl Bathurst, dated the 1st of January, 1818, and offering to grant permission for fifty persons, the choice of Napoleon Bonaparte himself (subject to the approbation of the Governor), to visit Longwood without any other pass than his invitation being required; also directing that in summer the sentinels should not be placed round the house until nine o'clock. Sir Hudson Lowe, about the same time that he sent this letter, marked 68, published the proclamation marked B, prohibiting any communication whatsoever with the French; continued to post the sentinels as usual at six o'clock; gave written orders at the guard-room to allow the French to pass till nine o'clock, while verbal ones were daily given to the sentinels not to allow them to go out after six; and Sir Hudson Lowe caused Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles to prohibit the officers of the 66th regiment from speaking to the French, threatening to report them to the Governor in case of non-compliance. [58]

The workmen sent out by his Majesty's Government for Longwood are studiously taken away before they have half finished their work, for the accommodation of Sir Hudson Lowe,

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[56.] "Falsely related." [57.] "Falsely related."
[58.] "False."

Sir Thomas Reade, and others, in a manner that jobs which would only require a few days to execute them are not finished for many months, as occurred in the instance of a "fauteuil de malade" demanded for Napoleon Bonaparte on the 23rd of October, 1816, and only finished in May 1818, and in several other instances. The moveables and other articles sent out by his Majesty's Government for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte and suite are appropriated in part by Sir Hudson Lowe for his own private accommodation, that of his relations, Sir Thomas Reade and others, to furnishing Plantation House and the Castle, Sir Thomas Reade's town and country houses; and a dozen of the shirts sent out for Napoleon were given, in 1816, to an Ensign Morgan (late of the 53rd regiment), a relation of Sir Hudson Lowe. Articles of prime necessity are refused to the inhabitants of Longwood, for whom they were destined in England, at the moment that Sir Hudson Lowe appropriated the very objects demanded by them to his own use, that of Sir Thomas Reade, and others, as occurred on the 9th of December, 1817. [59]

[59.] "Shortly after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival at St. Helena an application was made to him, by Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, to obtain furniture for the house allotted to the naval Commander-in-Chief. This application was accompanied by a letter suggesting the appropriation of some of the articles which had arrived for the use of General Bonaparte and his followers, as being at that time unemployed. Sir Hudson Lowe objected on the ground that he had been directed by Earl Bathurst to dispose by sale of such articles as were not wanted, and that a jealousy might arise if they were employed in any other way than as originally intended; but finding a great difficulty in procuring furniture at St. Helena, and as the expense would ultimately fall on Government, Sir Hudson Lowe authorised a certain proportion of the stores which were not immediately wanted for the use of the officers in attendance upon General Bonaparte to be supplied to the Admiral, according to the list in the margin. Other articles were drawn afterwards from the same stores for two bedrooms at Plantation House. The liberality of the East India Company rendered it perfectly unnecessary to have recourse to the stores sent out for General Bonaparte's use, or that of the officers in attendance upon him; but as these articles happened to be on the spot, and were not wanted at the time, they have been employed in the mean while as above mentioned. The principal articles are equally fit for use as when first sent out. Not a single article of the furniture sent for Longwood has been supplied for the Castle. Sir Thomas Reade has received no furniture for the house he occupies in town, both rent and furniture being at his own expense. On

Mr. Balcombe's, the only family which visited Longwood, was prevented from a continuance of it by prohibitions, insinuations, menaces, and ill-treatment, and by Sir Hudson Lowe's requiring that the members of it (not excepting even the young ladies) should give him verbal and written reports of the conversations which passed at Longwood in their presence. [60]

At my departure from St. Helena, communication between the French at Longwood and the officers, inhabitants, and others, was effectually prevented, either by direct prohibitions, as issued to the officers of the 66th regiment, by the proclamations, by insinuations and threats made to individuals, and by their fear of rendering themselves suspected, or by their being expected and required to make a report of their conversations to the Governor; and especially since the last proclamation, marked B, the officers, their wives, and the inhabitants actually flee the French as if they were infected with the plague.

I have mentioned these facts as instances of a system of vexation materially affecting the bodily health of Napoleon Bonaparte, which was confided to my charge. I have now to add that, in order to prevent the possibility of his being stopped and detained by sentinels, as had happened to all the members

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his residing at a house called the Alarm House, he applied to purchase some articles of furniture which had been in use for two years by General Gourgaud, and which on his departure remained unappropriated. These articles were as expressed in the margin.

"The circumstance of the twelve shirts is as follows:—Ensign Morgan of the 53rd regiment had been recommended to Sir Hudson Lowe's attention by an officer of rank in the service, and also by Mr. Morgan's mother. Sir Hudson Lowe had no previous acquaintance with his family. This young man had committed some imprudences in his regiment, and made application to exchange on half-pay. When on the point of departure from St. Helena, he was found to be without common necessaries for the voyage, or the means of procuring them. Sir Hudson Lowe recollected that amongst the articles which had been sent out for the use of General Bonaparte and his officers there were several dozens of ready-made shirts for which no application had been made. The vessel in which Mr. Morgan had taken his passage was on the very point of sailing, a motive was urged for delay, and, there being no ready-made linen warehouses at St. Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe did not hesitate to direct that a dozen of the above-mentioned shirts should be sent to Mr. Morgan, holding himself, of course, responsible for their appropriation."

[60. "False."

of his suite who ventured, either from the blunders of private soldiers and the ambiguity and obscurity of the orders given to them, or otherwise, and for other reasons, he adopted the resolution of shutting himself up in his apartment, and for two years has been nearly totally deprived of exercise, which, added to the vexations and restrictions above mentioned, has aided the operation of the climate in producing the complaint under which he now labours, and which, as long as they are continued, must aggravate his sufferings under it, and render his recovery more improbable. I think it my duty to state, as his late medical attendant, that, considering the disease of the liver with which he is afflicted, the progress it has made in him, and reflecting upon the great mortality produced by that complaint in the island of St. Helena, so strongly exemplified in the number of deaths in the 66th regiment, the St. Helena regiment, the squadron, and Europeans in general, and particularly in H.M.S. Conqueror, which ship has lost about one-sixth of her complement, nearly the whole of whom died within the last eight months, it is my opinion that the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be endangered by a longer residence in such a climate as that of St. Helena, especially if that residence be aggravated by a continuance of those disturbances and irritations to which he has been hitherto subjected, and of which it is the nature of his distemper to render him peculiarly susceptible.

Anxious as I am to be re-established in their Lordships' good opinion, I humbly hope that they will be pleased to communicate to me, as soon as their important duties will allow, their judgment of my conduct in one of the most difficult and painful situations in which a medical man and an officer can be placed. Should they be pleased to ask for an explanation of any part of the above statement, or to place me in circumstances where I might with propriety offer evidence in its support, I shall be ready to obey their commands.

I have the honour, &c.,

BARRY E. O'MEARA, Surgeon R.N.

No. 151.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, Downing Street, October 31, 1818.

You will receive by the present opportunity two instructions from Lord Bathurst insisting upon the necessity of General Buonaparte's being seen daily by the orderly officer at Longwood. Although Lord Bathurst has attached to a willing compliance with these instructions a relaxation of almost every other restriction to which General Buonaparte has been subjected, yet I have little doubt but that he will refuse admitting the orderly officer, and that both he and the officers of his suite will threaten the most determined resistance to any attempts which may be made to enforce his personal access to the General. You will, however, I am sure, not pay so much deference to threats of this nature as to abandon the substantial execution of the instructions, for you will remember that there have been many occasions on which the threats made by General Buonaparte of most determined resistance have ended in perfect acquiescence. I need only call to your recollection, in illustration of this, the determination which he himself expressed not to quit the Bellerophon alive, and the assurances given by his followers at that time that they would sacrifice their lives in resisting his removal. The only answer which Sir G. Cockburn gave to this attempt at intimidation was a request to be informed of the hour at which he wished the boat to be in attendance, and on its arrival you may remember that he went into it and quitted the Bellerophon with every appearance of acquiescence both on his part and on that of his followers. It is not, I think, improbable that the same scene may be again acted on the present occasion, but I have little doubt that your firmness will bring it to a similar termination; and I have only taken the liberty of making these remarks because I know the disappointment which Lord Bathurst would feel if anything were to induce you to forego having that daily certainty of General Buonaparte's being in Longwood which it is the object of those instructions to insure.

Believe me, &c.

Henry Goulburn.

No. 152.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, Downing Street, November, 1818.

I congratulate you on the interception of the letters carried out by the ship Lusitania, as it established beyond contradiction the clandestine correspondence carried on by Mr. O'Meara. The contents of the letters, and the manner in which Mr. Balcombe endeavours to conceal the part which he has taken in this transaction, clearly show that the commissions transmitted by Mr. O'Meara were not of the innocent nature ascribed to them, and that they were something more than orders for books for his own, or even for the amusement of Longwood. Although no judicial proceedings can be held against any of the parties, yet the papers, even should nothing more be discovered, will be satisfactory documents in the event of any parliamentary discussions.

I cannot help entertaining some doubts whether the books which Mr. Holmes sent have not been the channel of some correspondence which does not appear; and these doubts are rather increased by the manner in which in his letter to me he speaks of *the* letters which were sent, instead of speaking of them as his own. I hope you have examined the books very carefully; and if any of them are bound, and they are still in your possession, let the binding be opened so as to ascertain beyond a doubt that there are no letters contained in them. If any such correspondence should be found, and it proves to be of serious import, you will be justified in desiring the Admiral to send a vessel home with them.

I am willing to believe that neither Dr. Stokoe nor Mr. Fowler are parties in this transaction, and that those who have taken a part on the side of Mr. O'Meara have been duped by him, and are sincere in the regret which they express. At any rate I am sure you will do right to show no ill-humour, and (if you still entertain) to conceal any suspicion regarding them. It will be a trial of your temper to read Mr. O'Meara's charges against you. The answer which the Lords of the Admiralty

gave to it must be satisfactory to you, more especially when you know that Sir George Cockburn was the first person who, on reading the charges, declared that Mr. O'Meara ought to be instantly dismissed the service.

Mr. Goulburn will in his letter point out to you those parts which, from an absence of documents, will require explanation. You will observe that Mr. O'Meara's great object is to involve as many persons as possible in the attack against you; and he has therefore introduced the names of many individuals. In applying to those of the persons named who happen to be in the island, you will, I trust, command any displeasure which you may feel at what they may have been induced to say or do adverse to your proceedings. You will recollect that the authority which you are called upon to exercise is necessarily of an invidious nature; and that inconsiderate persons, particularly young men, are easily persuaded by such persons as Mr. O'Meara that what is done is more than is requisite, and that there is something creditable in disapproving it, and spirited in counteracting it.

I expect you will have some trouble at first in executing the instructions which direct the regular admission of the orderly officer into Buonaparte's presence. In answer to the vehement representations which will be made, you had better content yourself with simply saying that your orders are peremptory and that you must obey them. I am in great hopes, however, that, when you have provided for a regular sight of Buonaparte, you will have much less difficulty in other respects. Your mind may then be more at ease, and you will no longer be under the necessity of obtaining information of whatever is passing at Longwood. His having been seen in the morning, and the certainty of his presence or absence being to be ascertained in the evening, will leave you less solicitous of what may happen in the intermediate time, and relieve the orderly officer from much unpleasant duty.

I trust that nothing will prevent my receiving before the meeting of Parliament your reply to the statement transmitted by Buonaparte last year to Lord Liverpool, as you will see that an extract of my despatch requiring it has been published in the newspapers. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 153.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, Downing Street, November 28, 1818.

Soon after your departure for St. Helena, Lord Bathurst addressed a private letter to you, in which he recommended the removal of Mr. O'Meara, to which, as far as I recollect, you replied by a private letter, that he gave you such useful information of what was passing at Longwood that you thought it advisable to retain him in his situation. Of these letters no trace can be found in the office, notwithstanding the most diligent search; and I should therefore be much obliged to you if you could furnish me with copies of both these private letters, or of either of them, as they will be the best possible refutation of Mr. O'Meara's two assertions, that you were from the first anxious to get rid of him, and that he never gave you information of what was passing at Longwood unconnected with the health of his patient, or his escape from confinement. . . . . .

Believe me, &c.

Henry Goulburn.

No. 154.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, November 30, 1818.

Adverting to the instruction which I have already conveyed to you in my despatch of the 28th of September, respecting the necessity of General Buonaparte being seen by the orderly officer twice in the course of every day, it appears to me necessary to make some provision for the occurrence of any real indisposition on the part of General Buonaparte, which might render the admission of the orderly officer more particularly disagreeable to him; and I have therefore to instruct you that, in the event of General Buonaparte being seen by some British medical officer at those times of the day which I have pointed out in my former despatch, it will not be necessary for you to insist on the admission of the orderly officer, provided that you

receive from the medical officer each morning and evening an assurance that General Buonaparte is indisposed, and is actually in Longwood. I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 155.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, February 20, 1819.

Speaking yesterday with the town major about Mr. Balcombe, he mentioned to me his having once seen in Mr. Balcombe's possession an order or a bill of exchange for 4000*l.*, signed "Napoleon." Mr. Balcombe showed it to him (out of bravado) at a time when he was supposed not to be very rich, observing, when he took it out of his pocket, "Here, look at this; you see I do not want money"—or words to that effect. It took place before our arrival on this island. I asked the town major if he had ever mentioned the circumstance to Sir George Cockburn or any other person. He said he had not, as he naturally conceived at the time Mr. Balcombe showed it to him that Sir George must have known it, or that Mr. Balcombe could not have received it without Sir George's sanction. He does not recollect on whom the bill was drawn, but he is quite certain that it was in favour of Mr. Balcombe for 4000*l.*, and he also recollects the signature "Napoleon," which he describes to have been in very bad handwriting.

Yours faithfully,

T. READE.

No. 156.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, James Town, March 11, 1819.

I think I ought to mention to you that, in a conversation I had a few days since with Captain Balston, of the Honourable Company's ship Princess Amelia, he was speaking of Mr. Prince, who had just passed the island as purser of the Orwell; he stated that Mr. Prince had spoken publicly at the

table at Canton of a journey he had had occasion to make to Rome just before he had left Europe. On his being questioned as to what could have taken him there, he declared that he had been there to negociate bills (I think Captain Balston said to the amount of 5000*l.*) which he had got at St. Helena.

I should have made you acquainted with this conversation sooner had I not supposed that, as you were in the habit of seeing daily many of those persons who must have been at the table at Canton, that you could not have remained ignorant of the tenor of Mr. Prince's public conversation.

I remain, &c.

G. R. BINGHAM.

No. 157.

To EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, April 3, 1819.

Mr. Ricketts, having had a long interview with General Bonaparte, will be enabled to give your Lordship more information respecting him than you can possibly receive from any other channel. Mr. Ricketts's desire to be presented was first made known to Count Montholon; and, after a lapse of three days, he received a note from Count Bertrand, signifying that General Bonaparte would receive him, Count Bertrand requesting Mr. Ricketts would previously call upon him, in order to be introduced. Mr. Ricketts, being nearly related to Lord Liverpool, supposed an attempt would be made to make him the bearer of some communication to his Lordship. I did not object to his hearing anything which General Bonaparte might say, but advised him against his rendering himself the bearer of any papers, or charging himself with anything unknown to me. General Bonaparte, as was expected, entertained him fully on the subject of all his complaints here, and it appears that, on his asking Mr. Ricketts to make them known in England, and on his saying he could not distinctly charge his memory with what they precisely were, it was proposed to put down the heads in writing, which was done in his presence, and the paper received by him (copy herewith sent), with the express understanding it was to be shown to me. I regretted

Mr. Ricketts should have received this paper; but as it may be said to contain the summum of General Bonaparte's grievances, and as it can be easily replied to, I hope no disagreeable consequence will ensue. Before seeing General Bonaparte, Count Bertrand entered into a long discussion with Mr. Ricketts respecting their situation here, and showed to him some papers of a correspondence that had been passing betwixt Count Montholon and myself the same day in regard to a medical attendant.

I had fully expected General Bonaparte would enter upon such subjects with Mr. Ricketts, and, viewing Mr. Ricketts's near connexion with Lord Liverpool, had no objection he should do so, so far as to enable Mr. Ricketts to make known all the grounds of complaint he might appear to have; but I did not anticipate any communication on the same matter with Count Bertrand, of whose general line of conduct and of whose insolent pretensions I had fully apprised Mr. Ricketts, and may have to regret, therefore, the encouragement that has been given to him. The fulness and frankness of Mr. Ricketts's communication on every point that was discussed betwixt him and General Bonaparte or Count Bertrand diminish from any inconvenience this may occasion; and on the whole, except on account of the encouragement given Count Bertrand, I am happy your Lordship may have an opportunity of being so fully informed as you now can be of all that can be said by General Bonaparte and his followers respecting his situation here. I have a large mass of correspondence of other matter to transmit to your Lordship, but I must unavoidably postpone sending it until the departure of the Northampton, a single ship now lying in the roads, which will probably arrive as soon, or even sooner, than that in which Mr. Ricketts is proceeding.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 158.

PROPOSITIONS made on the part of COUNT MONTHOLON, specifying the terms upon which NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was disposed to receive the assistance of a British Medical Attendant, and the GOVERNOR'S observations thereon.

"ARTICLES under which it appears, by a Letter from COUNT MONTHOLON, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE is willing to admit a British Medical Officer to attend upon him."

Longwood, ce 1 Avril, 1819.

1. Qu'il le pourrait choisir parmi tous les officiers de santé actuellement présents dans cette île, et ce en conséquence de la lettre de Lord Bathurst du 18e Mai.

2. Que le médecin qu'il choisirait serait considéré comme celui dont il est fait mention dans le décret de votre Gouvernement du 15me Août, 1815.

3. Qu'il recevrait l'assurance qu'il le garderait au moins pendant la durée de sa maladie, que le médecin serait considéré et traité comme le sien propre.

4. Qu'il ne rendrait compte de sa santé à qui que ce fût.

5. Qu'il serait autorisé à rédiger tous les huit jours, plus souvent si c'était nécessaire, un bulletin dont l'original resterait entre nos mains.

6. Qu'il pourrait communiquer à toute heure, verbalement, par écrit, le jour, la nuit, avec les Français de Longwood.

7. Qu'il donnerait l'assurance qu'il ne rendrait compte à qui que ce fût des conversations qu'il entendrait à Longwood, se réservant sur toutes les matières à son serment d'allégiance envers sa patrie et son souverain.

LE COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

GOVERNOR'S OBSERVATIONS.

[These observations are referred to in Remark No. 8 of the Memorandum written by the Governor on Count Montholon's letter of the 8th of April on returning it. *Vide* p. 481, *post.*]

St. Helena, April 10, 1819.

1. Napoleon Bonaparte may select a medical officer accordingly, provided the person chosen strictly conforms to the

regulations in force pursuant to Earl Bathurst's letter of 16th of May, 1818.

2. According to the sense in which the British Government may have given its orders on the above occasion.

The Governor in the mean time can only refer to the conditions the surgeon then chosen stipulated for himself in his letter to Lord Keith, viz. that he should be considered as a British officer, *employed and paid by the British Government, and not as in any wise dependent upon, subservient to, or paid by Napoleon Bonaparte.*[1]

3. It cannot be expected that the Governor should surrender his own authority so far as to give the unqualified assurance required of him in the first part of this article. He can only pledge his own desire of forbearance, even should a case arise to demand removal, until a French medical attendant may arrive, or until the orders of his Government may be received.

The individual will be considered as Napoleon Bonaparte's personal medical attendant, and bound to consider the health of Napoleon Bonaparte as his principal charge, but he can contract no personal tie, whether as a medical man or otherwise, inconsistent with his natural duty as a British subject.

4. If the medical officer is considered as employed by the British Government, he must of course be prepared to furnish such information as is required respecting the health of Napoleon Bonaparte whenever he may be indisposed, but only to the Governor.

5. The Governor will not require any bulletins unless in cases of serious indisposition which the medical officer may deem it his duty to report in writing, when a counterpart in original may be left with Napoleon Bonaparte; it being understood, however, that, *in all cases of serious indisposition which require that written reports be presented*, no objection shall be made to a compliance with the regulation contained in the last article[2] but one of the instructions to Sir George Cockburn.

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[1] "Vide Memorandum of conversation between Count Montholon and Dr. Verling on the same day these proposals were addressed to me. The proposals were at the same time shown to Dr. Verling by Count Montholon."

[2] "If the General should be attacked with any serious indisposition the

6. Professional attendance may of course be given at all hours; but when, in the execution of professional duty, any written communication may become indispensable, it is to be made known to the Governor if he requires it.

7. The medical officer has never been required, nor will be required, to make reports of conversations; but whenever he may be communicated with on points that relate to the Governor's duties, or connected in any way with the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte on this island, and prevention of his rescue or escape, or may become informed of any infraction or intended infraction of the regulations established for his safe custody,[1] it cannot be expected that, as a British subject, he should bind his honour or his conscience by any tie which may restrain him from making the most immediate communication thereof.

Matters touching his allegiance and his duty towards his sovereign and his country, it would of course be treasonable in him to withhold.

H. Lowe.

No. 159.

Letter addressed by Count Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe, and returned to him.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 8 Avril, 1819.

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 4, à laquelle était jointe ma dernière lettre, que vous me renvoyez; [1] trouvez donc bon qui j'indite votre conduite, et vous renvoie la vôtre; il est impossible de prétendre écrire à quelqu'un, et en même temps se refuser à recevoir ses réponses. Depuis votre arrivée le Comte Bertrand et moi vous avons écrit plus de 80 lettres;

Governor and the Admiral will each direct a medical person in whom they may have confidence to be in attendance on the General in addition to his own medical assistance, and direct them severally to report daily on the state of his health."

[1] "Vide Act of Parliament, latter part of the first and second paragraphs, and the warrant addressed to the Governor, which requires all persons to be assisting conformably to the Act.

"Vide also extract of a letter from Mr. O'Meara, showing that the medical attendant referred to in these proposals is not required to give so much information as his predecessor had acknowledged it was his duty to afford."

toutes contenaient la qualification de l'Empereur Napoléon; vous nous avez répondu à toutes, mais en vous servant, il est vrai, de la qualification de Napoléon Bonaparte, ce que par la traduction je lui déguisais; c'était un arrangement passé en usage, et dont je ne me départirai jamais; je vous l'ai fait connaître dans ma lettre du 17 Décembre dernier, que, s'il est facile de tuer l'Empereur, il est impossible de lui ôter le caractère sacré et inaliénable emprent sur sa personne.

Vous vous portez pour offensé par le Comte Bertrand; dès lors vous n'avez plus le droit de juger sa conduite; vous êtes partie, et ne pouvez avoir le sang froid nécessaire pour être juge.[2] Je ne sais pas s'il a écrit [3] la lettre au Comte de Las Cases imprimée dans le 'Morning Chronicle,' mais je suis chargé de vous dire qu'ayant été traduite à l'Empereur, il l'a trouvée en toute chose parfaitement exacte,[4] quoique exprimant faiblement la conduite que vous tenez à son égard; ceux qui l'ont imprimée ont eu tort; en nommant des individus sous votre autorité ils ont compromis leur état; aussi vous en êtes vous prévalu, et les avez vous obligé à signer des lettres que vous avez dictées.[5] Dans votre lettre du 25 Juillet, 1817, relative au jeu d'échec offert par Mr. Elphinstone, vous faites gloire de professer ces principes; plusieurs fois vous avez remarqué que dans des paquets de linge sale on pouvait cacher des livres, des journaux; effectivement, pendant long tems le logement de l'officier d'ordonnance Blakeney en a été chaque semaine encombré pendant plusieurs jours, ce qui excitait la répugnance de ce brave officier, et celle de tout ceux qui entraient chez lui. [6]

J'ai placé en réserve, et je tiens toujours à votre disposition, vos paquets [7] du 21 et 25 Mars, ce dernier encore cacheté, ainsi que les trois lettres que m'ont écrit vos officiers, les regardant comme non avenues.

Aujourd'hui l'Empereur est encore sans médecin,[8] ce que, sous un prétexte ou sous un autre, vous faites durer depuis dix mois. Mr. Ricketts, Membre du Conseil Général des Indes et parent de Lord Liverpool, auquel ma lettre du 1e Avril a été communiqué, ne pouvait pas comprendre ce que vous portait à empêcher le médecin que prendrait l'Empereur Napoléon à lui donner les garanties qu'il en exige, que c'était celles qu'exige tout gentleman; non plus qu'à le considérer comme remplis-

sant une fonction civile, ce qui est nécessaire pour qu'il jouisse de l'indépendance dont il a besoin pour remplir ce religieux ministère, auquel on attente publiquement pour la première fois depuis qu'il existe des peuples civilisés.

[9] Vous nous avez envoyé il y a un mois une collection de 'Morning Chronicle' des 10 derniers jours d'Août, de Septembre, d'Octobre, de Novembre, et jusqu'au 14 Décembre, mais il y manque sept numéros.

Il parait que le 'Courier,' qui est un journal semi-officiel, a dit que vous avez intercepté, en Septembre 1818, une correspondance de l'Europe avec nous; [10] pourquoi ne nous l'avoir pas communiqué? Comme nous n'avons aucune connaissance de ce fait, je suis également chargé de le déclarer faux et calomnieux.

Il est arrivé depuis quinze jours des journaux [11] des derniers jours de Décembre, et de tout Janvier; vous ne nous en avez envoyé aucun.

Vouz avez à nous des caisses [12] de livres, une collection de 'Morning Chronicle,' et des 'Revues d'Edimbourg' arriérés; vous les retenez depuis plusieurs mois.

Vous nous menacez verbalement et par écrit; vous méconnaissez notre caractère; rien ne pourra jamais nous faire [13] dévier du chemin de l'honneur et du devoir.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

OBSERVATIONS by SIR HUDSON LOWE annexed to the foregoing letter from COUNT MONTHOLON on returning it to him.

[1] This letter is returned for the same reasons as preceding ones. Vide Earl Bathurst's Instruction to Sir H. Lowe of the 17th of September, 1817, communicated to Count Bertrand on the 3rd of January, 1818, and also letter to Count Montholon, dated the 2nd of April, 1819.

[2] The Governor has already stated the only motives which had *heretofore* determined his forbearance in respect to Count Bertrand. Vide his letter of the 4th of April, 1819, to Count Montholon.

[3] This is not a disavowal of the letter, nor of the falsehoods it contains.

[4] If Napoleon Bonaparte believes what is stated in this letter to be *perfectly exact*, it affords the strongest proof of the illusion in which a person who refuses to himself any opportunity of seeing or knowing what passes can be kept by those around him. The Governor declares the letter to be a shameless libel throughout, discolouring every fact or circumstance, torturing even acts of attention into outrages, sent forth to the world with the express design to blacken and defame, and by such unworthy means attempt to excite the public commiseration.

[5] Captain Blakeney delivered his own sentiments to Count Bertrand on this point. It is false that the letter he wrote was dictated by the Governor, or any other that has been sent. There is not a syllable in the Governor's letter of the 25th of July, 1817, on such subject.

[6] As a proof how much real delicacy has been hitherto practised on this point, and how little acknowledgment it ever produces, a statement from Captain Blakeney is annexed. Count Montholon, in a discussion on this very matter, admitted the absolute propriety of every article which left or was sent to Longwood being examined, and proposed it should be done at or outside the barrier; which was immediately acceded to.

[7] The Governor considers these letters as delivered, and will act upon them accordingly.

[8] The Governor's letter of the 25th of July, 1818, and note of the 25th of March, 1819, the contents of which have been again referred to or repeated in the communications made to Count Montholon on the 2nd and 3rd of April, point out the very simple and natural conditions upon which Napoleon Bonaparte may have at any time made his selection of a medical attendant. The Governor has, notwithstanding, drawn out some observations on the proposals contained in Count Montholon's letter, and they are sent herewith.[1] He was rendered aware that Count Bertrand had taken upon himself to show Count Montholon's letter to Mr. Ricketts, who will know the

[1] See Observations, dated April 10, 1819, on Count Montholon's letter of the 1st of April, pp. 476-8, *ante*.

use that has been made of his name, and form his own judgment upon it.

[9] The Governor sent all the newspapers he received; he has *never* withdrawn any paper of a regular series received by him, although he shall not hesitate to do so if he sees a sufficient motive for it. If any numbers of the papers usually sent by the Governor have not been seen by Napoleon Bonaparte, *they must have been kept back from him by his own followers.*

[10] The information which is here sought after will not be given. The Governor does not intend to become the channel for the delivery of letters or parcels clandestinely sent here, or of making known their contents.

[11] No series of any papers have been received by the Governor of later date than the 12th of December. He has made it an invariable practice, when he obtained any papers of a late date otherwise than by the regular channels, to send them directly to Longwood; but as an act of regard which he was every way disposed to show, and not of direct obligation.

[12] The Governor has not in his possession any books, 'Morning Chronicles,' and 'Edinburgh Reviews,' for the persons at Longwood, nor does he know of any that have been sent expressly for them. The 'Morning Chronicle' has been regularly forwarded to Longwood. It is the only paper received from England expressly for Napoleon Bonaparte. All other papers sent have been the Governor's, or borrowed by him.

Some French books were sent in a *separate box,* directed to be delivered to a person under a feigned name, and supposed to be destined for Napoleon Bonaparte, which were some months since forwarded to Count Montholon on his application. No others have since arrived.

[13] The officers who have accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte hither are of course at liberty to follow the path of honour and duty according to their own feelings. The Governor does not dispute the sentiments or the principles of attachment which bind them to their superior, particularly in his adversity. Whether such attachment has been shown in the way most honourable to themselves, or most for the comfort of the individual to whom they are attached, by the course

they have pursued, it is not the Governor's business to discuss. All that he has to require of them is expressed in the annexed extracts from his instructions, which have been before transmitted.

H. Lowe, Lieut.-General.

No. 160.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, July 5, 1819.

I have had the honour to receive and to lay before the Prince Regent your several despatches of the dates and numbers specified in the margin, and I have his Royal Highness's gracious commands to signify to you his approbation of your conduct on the several points to which these despatches have referred. I have the honour to be, &c.,

Bathurst.

No. 161.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, July 7, 1819.

I have had the honour of laying before the Prince Regent your despatch No. 218, in which you state what had passed between you and the Marquis de Montchenu, in consequence of the despatch which he had received from the Duke de Richelieu, dated the . . His Royal Highness entirely approves of your conduct in resisting the pretensions with which the French Commissioner, in consequence of this despatch, endeavoured to maintain an unrestricted intercourse with the followers of General Buonaparte, as well as with the General himself. The British Government is alone responsible to Europe for the safe custody of General Buonaparte, and that responsibility must cease if any person not named by the British Government, nor acting under its authority or control, has a right to have what communications he may choose with the inhabitants of Longwood. Under the protocol signed at Aix-la-Chapelle the Commissioners may from time to time, if they think proper, ascertain by personal intercourse the presence of General Buo-

naparte at St. Helena, and you have accordingly received instructions under what regulations these interviews are to take place. The followers of General Buonaparte stand upon a very different principle. There cannot exist the same necessity of seeing them; and you will exercise your judgment with regard to the time and manner in which they may have occasional communications with the Commissioners; or you may prohibit them altogether if, as may be in the case of Count Bertrand, their insolence should appear to be encouraged, or their falsehoods be countenanced, by too frequent intercourse with the Commissioners. I have no reason to believe that the French Court will have any wish to promote familiarities with those inhabitants of Longwood who are labouring by every means in their power to calumniate the conduct of the British Government in the discharge of the duty which has been imposed upon it. But, whatever representations may be made by the French Government, they must be made here; and you will not allow yourself to be moved from the course you may think proper to pursue by any pretensions which the French Commissioner may be induced to advance in consequence of despatches which he receives from Paris. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 162.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

My dear Sir, Downing Street, July 12, 1819.

I have not thought it advisable to direct any prosecutions against the 'Morning Chronicle,' or Mr. O'Meara's publications, not because I felt any indifference on the subject, but because London juries are very uncertain in their verdicts, and one ill-disposed juryman would be able to acquit the parties, which would give occasion for triumph, and appear to justify the complaints which have been made against you. As it is, you will have had the satisfaction of seeing that, after all their publications and all their threats, not one person has ever opened his mouth in Parliament in favour of Buonaparte. You are acting with great prudence in avoiding, if possible, any scene with Buonaparte; and I trust that the apprehension of the

orderly officer coming into his room will induce him to show himself, so as to make a scene unnecessary. You will find, I think, Abbé Buonavita a very harmless man. The surgeon is reckoned very intelligent, but, I think, will not be disposed to be troublesome, as he is apparently inclined to make advances to the Government by proposing to dedicate the work he is completing to the Prince Regent.

Nothing could have been more fortunate than Mr. Ricketts's visit at St. Helena. He has given the most satisfactory reports concerning the real state of the business, and saw through all the manœuvres which were practised to impose upon him. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Baxter, but I expect to see him in a day or two.

With respect to Mr. Balcombe, you will let it be known that, in the event of his arriving at St. Helena, you have orders to send him away. His partners must not be allowed to continue their contract if his name is in it. I imagine he cannot be dismissed from his office of Surveyor of Sales but by order of the Court of Directors; and I am not sure what may be the result of the representation which I shall probably make to them on the subject. I say probably, for I do not much like making representations of that description unless there is a good chance of their being attended to.

I am, &c.,
BATHURST.

July 13.

P.S.—I see by the newspapers that Mr. Hutchinson yesterday said something about Buonaparte in the House of Commons, but it produced no effect, and was not attended to.

No. 163.

To HENRY GOULBURN, ESQ., M.P.

Sir, St. Helena, December 18, 1819.

I beg leave to enclose to you, for Earl Bathurst's information, a distribution of the stores sent out for the use of General Bonaparte, his officers, and attendants, in the year 1816, stating the manner in which great part of them have

been disposed of, and what articles are still remaining. Having observed assertions to have been made in some recent publications, particularly one under the name of Count Las Cases, that a part of those stores had been appropriated to my own use, and that of other individuals, I have caused to be marked in the distribution the very few articles that have been taken, for payment or otherwise, from the stores in question, none of which, however, had been particularly destined for General Bonaparte's own use, or were obtained by depriving others of them.

By Sir Henry Bunbury's letter to me, of the 3rd of January, 1816, I was authorised to dispose by sale of such articles as might not be wanted, on the ground that other furniture had been already provided for the use of General Bonaparte. On my arrival here, however, I found the furniture provided to have been all secondhand, and of very inferior quality. It became necessary, in consequence, to immediately appropriate a part of the new furniture to fit up the old house at Longwood, and I judged it necessary to retain the remainder for the new building, whenever it might be undertaken. A house allotted to the naval Commander-in-Chief, viz. that before occupied by the Lieut.-Governor, was left wholly unfurnished. Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, on arriving here, applied to have it fitted up. He suggested at the same time the appropriating a part of the furniture brought out for General Bonaparte's new house to this use. The reply I made to his letter explained my objections to him; but as there was a real difficulty in procuring furniture on this island, and as I had been authorised to dispose of any superfluous articles that had arrived, I caused a very small portion of the new furniture to be sent to the Admiral's house, having, in concurrence with the Council, provided at the Company's expense such other necessary and indispensable articles as were wanting. I afterwards took some articles of furniture for two bedrooms at Plantation House. The liberality of the East India Company would have rendered it unnecessary for me to have applied to this source if any furniture could have been otherwise procured; but, as these articles were not immediately wanted, I did not hesitate to apply them for the time being to the use abovementioned. The numerous guests my situation here compels

me to receive at Plantation House, particularly persons of any rank, such as the Admiral, Commissioners, &c., are almost invariably furnished with beds. It was to fit up rooms for their occasional accommodation, and not my own, these articles were taken.

An account annexed will prove, however, that the amount of the articles which have been furnished to Longwood, either by myself, or from furniture provided for the Government Houses by the Company, has exceeded, both in quantity and value, that which has been taken from the stores in question. In other respects, the articles are still quite fresh, and as disposable for the new building at Longwood as when they first came out. I have added a separate list of the articles supplied for the Admiral's house, and of such as I suffered to be obtained by purchase. I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 164.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, March 16, 1820.

Having understood that it is the intention both of Count Montholon and General Bertrand to apply for leave to return to Europe, and as, in consequence of their departure, General Buonaparte's society at Longwood will be essentially straitened, you will take a fit opportunity of conveying to him His Majesty's disposition to attend to any wish which the General may express in favour of any individual whose arrival at Longwood would be satisfactory to the General.

If General Buonaparte should prefer leaving the selection either to the Cardinal Fesch, or to the Princess Pauline de Borghese, I will readily make a communication to that effect.

It is only necessary to add, that the person who shall so go out must come within the established regulations, viz., he must be subject to the conditions to which the persons who last went out subscribed, and must not have been already in the island.

I have the honour, &c.,

Bathurst.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Dear Sir, Downing Street, March 16, 1820.

Unless anything should have occurred which should, in your opinion, make the withholding the communication of the enclosed despatch advisable, you will transmit a copy of it, or an extract, as you may judge fit, to Buonaparte.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.

Bathurst.

No. 165.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Dear Sir, Downing Street, March 16, 1820.

By one of the earliest opportunities Lady Holland intends to send a packet for Madame Bertrand. Among other things there will be, as I understand, some miniature pictures and other *souvenirs* from some of Bonaparte's family. I have no objection to any remembrances of this kind coming from his family to him; but as anything which comes from that quarter must be suspicious, you will do well to examine carefully that this is not the channel of some clandestine communication contained within it, of which Lady Holland may not herself be aware. I thought it right just to call your attention to this circumstance before the packet is delivered to Madame Bertrand, lest you should imagine that by its having been sent with my consent I could vouch for its contents.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.

Bathurst.

No. 166.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, April 12, 1820.

I have had the honour of laying before His Majesty your despatch No. 271, by which it appears that you have extended the limits within which General Buonaparte may be allowed to ride without being attended by a British officer. I am commanded by His Majesty to inform you that he will

always hear with great pleasure the adoption of any measure which can in any way tend to mitigate the severity of those regulations which it is necessary to observe for the safe custody of General Buonaparte's person in the island of St. Helena.

The revolution which appears to have been lately effected in Spain, chiefly by the intervention of the Spanish army, has naturally excited a considerable ferment in France, and more particularly among the disbanded army of the Loire. Under such circumstances, the appearance of General Buonaparte in France would certainly be very propitious, not only to those who are immediately attached to him, but to those also who, from a revolutionary spirit, would be glad of any change which would tend to overthrow the ancient establishment of the states. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that he will receive strong solicitations to escape; and possibly some measures will be undertaken in Europe, or planned here to be undertaken elsewhere, with a view of enabling him to attempt it. It appears to me, however, that so long as you ascertain his being safe in his house each night, and at the moment when any ship sails, however dexterous the plan may be, it cannot possibly succeed. I have only to add, that you may be pretty sure that, if you should find him at the present crisis disposed to be gracious, he is meditating escape; and though you will not fail to meet his advances with any show of attention, and in a manner as if you in no way distrusted them, you will take care to be on the alert.

I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 167.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

(Private.)

My dear Sir, Downing Street, May 31, 1820.

In consequence of the doubts expressed in your private letter of the , as to the course to be adopted by you in the event of General Buonaparte's shooting a man, Lord Bathurst thought it advisable to make the line of your duty perfectly clear by fortifying you with a legal opinion of the law

officers of the Crown as to the liability of General Bonaparte, under the peculiar circumstances in which he stands in St. Helena, to trial and conviction for felony. The numerous avocations of the Attorney and Solicitor General have prevented their making a report in time to be forwarded by the present opportunity, and Lord Bathurst has therefore directed me to apprize you of this circumstance with a view both to account for the delay in transmitting instructions upon this point, and to prevent your adopting any criminal proceedings with respect to General Bonaparte (if he should act in such a manner as to subject himself to them) until you are in possession of the instructions which, upon the receipt of the law-officers' report, Lord Bathurst will take the earliest opportunity of transmitting for your guidance. Believe me, &c.

HENRY GOULBURN.

No. 168.

To D. IBBETSON, Esq.

Sir, Plantation House, August 29, 1820.

The Governor has had his attention very painfully drawn of late to some complaints of a serious nature respecting the supplies at Longwood.

The first regarding the failure of fresh butter.—The difficulty was raised [1] the moment the Governor became informed of it, and would have been so much sooner had he been informed. The failure of any article of ordinary and expected supply is not for a single day to be withheld from his information. You have, in this respect, no discretion. You are immediately to report, either to Sir Thomas Reade, in the town, to find means to supply the want, or to me, for the Governor's information. In points where your own foresight might prevent complaint, the occasion of such reports ought very rarely to occur.

The next complaint regards the supply of fish.—It is well known that the fishing-boats with the best fish on board do not come in till late in the afternoon; and the persons at Long-

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[1] *Sic*, but query "removed"?

wcod have been frequently informed of this circumstance as a reason for General Bonaparte's table not being supplied at the usual hour of his dinner. Fish, however, is occasionally brought in in the morning, and measures consequently might be taken by you to secure a larger quantity of what is brought in at that time, particularly of the smaller fish, being that he is most fond of. Activity on your part, and that of the person you employ in the town, is all that is wanting to remedy the complaint on this head.

The next article is bread.—There can be no excuse for this being of a bad quality, flour being sent here for the express use of General Bonaparte's table. You will please to ascertain with precision whether this flour is employed by the baker for any other tables than those at Longwood, except such proportion as is directed by the Governor for his use.

The next article is beer.—This is an article of such small demand at Longwood, that no difficulty ought ever to exist. No beer ought to be sent up to Longwood which has not been tried and approved. It is easy further to remedy any complaint on this head by procuring some casks of what is called Hodson's pale ale, which would always ensure against any complaint that might be made on account of casual defects in the quality of the usually provided beer.

The next article is beef.—In this respect you are in some degree dependent on the contractor, but it is still your business to see daily the meat that he provides, and to cause it to be returned if not of the best kind. The mutton should also be examined before it is sent to Longwood, and any defect in the quality instantly reported to Sir Thomas Reade or to me.

Fruit is another article which you are bound equally to provide. The Governor can admit no plea for your not receiving a supply of oranges and such fruit as may be in season from the Cape of Good Hope by every vessel that comes from it.

I am, &c.,

G. Gorrequer.

No. 169.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, November 30, 1820.

I have received and laid before the King your several despatches enclosing the communications which have recently passed between the French Commissioner and yourself on the subject of his renewed intention of proceeding to Longwood, and of holding an unrestricted intercourse with the followers of General Buonaparte.

As it may be inferred from your despatch of the 20th September (No. 323) that the Marquis de Montchenu had determined not to press the point further, his Majesty trusts that he is become sensible of the impossibility of your complying with his request, and that he will not reduce you to the painful alternative of exerting the authority which you possess for the prevention of such a communication with the followers of General Buonaparte as that which he had proposed. Should, however, the attempt be renewed, you will continue to adhere to the line which you have so properly laid down. You will facilitate, by every means in your power, the admission of the Commissioner to see General Buonaparte himself, so far as may be necessary to the discharge of his own duty, as laid down in the Treaty of Paris and the Protocol of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; but you will firmly maintain that the Commissioners of the Allied Powers have no right, without your acquiescence, to communicate with his followers or attendants.

His Majesty feels it to be particularly necessary that this latter point should be distinctly understood. The custody of General Buonaparte having been committed to his Majesty by the Allied Powers, his Majesty is alone responsible for the prevention of his escape, and must therefore be the sole judge of what restrictions are necessary for this purpose. It is impossible not to feel that the Allied Powers, however cordially united in interests and feelings at the present moment, may, from various circumstances, entertain hereafter different or contradictory political views, even with respect to the detention of General Buonaparte; nor is this less likely to originate in the instance of France than in that of any other of the Governments which were parties to the Treaty of Paris.

Under such circumstances it is evident that a free or unrestricted intercourse between the Commissioners of the Allied Powers and the followers of General Buonaparte, or with General Buonaparte himself, would afford the readiest means of giving effect to such a partial deviation from the general policy of the Allied Powers, and might raise insuperable obstacles to the due performance of the duty with which his Majesty is invested.

His Majesty therefore considers it advisable that the principle advanced by the French Commissioner should be resisted on this the first occasion of its having ever been formally brought forward, as there can be now no ground to suspect or distrust the objects of the French Government; so that, in all future cases in which an unrestricted intercourse with the followers of General Buonaparte or with General Buonaparte himself may be claimed by any Commissioner, the claim may be resisted on the ground of general regulations, independent of any consideration or discussion of the particular reasons which render it objectionable. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 170.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, February 16, 1821.

The accounts which you have of late transmitted respecting the health of General Buonaparte have not failed to engage the attention of his Majesty's Government. As the General obstinately persists in refusing the admittance of an English physician, it is very difficult to form a right judgment of the reports which you receive, since they come almost exclusively from persons whom you know to have every disposition to deceive you. The reports which Mr. O'Meara delivered to you previous to his departure are now acknowledged to have been false, and it cannot be forgotten that Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and General Buonaparte himself, united in actively supporting, if they did not originally suggest, these misrepresentations. Still, however, there are many circumstances which now tend to confirm the reports which you have transmitted,—

not to the extent of apprehending immediate danger, but to the belief of his health really beginning to decline.

It is, I think, quite clear that when he rode to the house of Sir William Doveton he was disposed to break through the system of seclusion he had so long voluntarily imposed upon himself. That he should seem exhausted with such a ride, after a three years' interruption of all horse exercise, is not very extraordinary, considering his corpulence and sedentary habits; but his entire discontinuance of such exercise afterwards does imply something more than accidental fatigue. His looks seem, by the report of those on whom some dependence can be placed, to betray ill health. He is seen to walk, sometimes at least, feebly. He frequently dines alone, which it was not his practice to do; and he evidently passes much more of his time alone (if not in bed) than formerly. But then, on the other hand, there are many reasons for suspecting, not that the whole is a deceit, but that the extent of the malady is designedly exaggerated. His reluctance to admit an English physician is of itself suspicious. The extreme desire which he expressed to go to Europe for his health, just at the time when the account of the commotions in Italy must have arrived in St. Helena, and the prescription of mineral waters by his own surgeon, the drinking of which was Madame Montholon's pretence of proceeding to this country, make the accounts of his indisposition somewhat questionable; and these doubts are not removed by the manner in which Count Montholon, knowing that his account would be read, writes to his wife on the subject. He shows an evident intention to deceive, by representing General Buonaparte as being too ill to leave his apartment, at a time when, in fact, the General was daily taking exercise in his carriage. He at the same time betrays his belief that he does not consider the General's illness as one which at least threatens immediate danger, by his mention of future arrangements for his own return to Europe; and, whatever may be the apathy which Count Bertrand is accused of feeling towards General Buonaparte, it can hardly be imagined that he would confine himself to the daily formal visit which is mentioned in the letter of Count Montholon, if he apprehended serious indisposition. If, however, there had not been previous deceit, I should not have allowed these circumstances, and others which might be men-

tioned, to have any weight; and, though they are now enough to make us wary, they ought not to make us incredulous. Besides which, I entertain no favourable opinion of those who are about General Buonaparte's person: they are all evidently weary of their duty; and, as his death would be their release, they may not take as lively an interest in persuading him to take medical advice as they feel when their own health is concerned.

I am aware how difficult it is to make any communication to the General which will not be liable to misinterpretation, and yet, if he be really ill, he may derive some consolation by knowing that the repeated accounts which have of late been transmitted of his declining health have not been received with indifference. You will therefore communicate to General Buonaparte the great interest which his Majesty has taken in the recent accounts of his indisposition, and the anxiety which his Majesty feels to afford him every relief of which his situation admits. You will assure General Buonaparte that there is no alleviation which can be derived from additional medical assistance, nor any arrangement consistent with the safe custody of his person at St. Helena (and his Majesty cannot now hold out any expectation of a removal), which his Majesty is not most ready and desirous to afford. You will not only repeat the offer, which has been already more than once made, of such further medical assistance as the island of St. Helena affords, but you will give him the option of procuring the attendance of any of the medical gentlemen who are at the Cape, where there is one, at least, of considerable eminence in his profession; and in case of any wish being expressed by the General to receive such advice, you will consider yourself authorised to make a communication to the Cape, and take such other measures as may be necessary to secure the immediate attendance of the person whom the General may name. In making this communication to General Buonaparte, his Majesty is confident that the General will at once see the propriety of his not requesting the advice of either of those medical attendants upon him who have been dismissed from his Majesty's service on account of their misconduct. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 171.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

(Separate.)

Sir, Colonial Office, London, February 17, 1821.

Before this despatch reaches St. Helena sufficient time will have elapsed since the date of your last communications to enable you to form a more accurate judgment with respect to the extent and reality of General Buonaparte's indisposition. Should your observations convince you that the illness has been assumed, you will of course consider yourself at liberty to withhold from him the communication which you are otherwise authorised to make in my despatch No. 21. But should you, on the other hand, be satisfied that his health is more or less seriously affected, you will lose no time in conveying to him the information which that despatch contains, and in affording to him any further relief or additional comfort of which his situation is susceptible. I have the honour, &c.,

Bathurst.

No. 172.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, April 11, 1821.

The enclosed extract of a letter from Count Montholon may merit, as usual, your Lordship's perusal. It may be regarded as a bulletin of General Bonaparte's health, meant for circulation at Paris.

I shall have a fuller communication to make by the next occasion. Dr. Arnott has this moment left me. The following is the most remarkable part of his information to me.

He saw General Bonaparte twice yesterday. In the morning he found him somewhat better, but, on seeing him in the afternoon, was told he had been attacked with vomiting. He threw something off his stomach whilst Dr. Arnott was with him; it appeared little else than what he had been taking for his sustenance—jelly, bread, milk, capillaire. The attack ceasing, General Bonaparte began conversing, and told Dr. Arnott that "his fever was now over (*partie*), and that he was returned to the same state in which he had been for the last six months,—

great weakness, loss of appetite." He then put his hand to his right side, over the liver, and said "*Le foie*," raising up his shirt, in order that Dr. Arnott might feel and examine, and pointing out the place to him. Count Bertrand (who was the only other person present) then explained in English what General Bonaparte had been saying; repeated that the fever had gone by, that he was now returned to the same state in which he had been for six months past, and that his complaint was in the liver. Dr. Arnott felt and examined General Bonaparte's side, in the region of the liver. He winced a little whilst Dr. Arnott was feeling him, and, on being asked if he felt any pain, he said he did. Dr. Arnott could, however, perceive no induration or swelling whatsoever, and immediately told Count Bertrand in English "he could find no hardness or swelling." This was translated to General Bonaparte, who merely signified he understood what was said by a kind of contractile motion of his lower jaw and upper lip. He spoke no further on the subject, and began asking some questions of Dr. Arnott respecting the sick in camp.

This morning, at six o'clock, Dr. Arnott was again sent for to see General Bonaparte, who was stated to have been attacked with vomiting four times since three o'clock. The fits had ceased, however, when Dr. Arnott visited him, but General Bonaparte did not appear quite so well as when Dr. Arnott called upon him the morning preceding. Dr. Arnott had strongly urged, both to Count Bertrand and Count Montholon, his desire that Dr. Antommarchi should be called upon to continue his visits at Longwood; and as Dr. Arnott was leaving Longwood to come over to me, he observed Marchand going to the apartments of Dr. Antommarchi, so that it seems to me not unlikely he may be again called in. It is Count Bertrand only who has been present during Dr. Arnott's last visits. I am not enabled to send further details by the present occasion, as the vessel is getting under weigh.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 173.

À Monsieur le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Longwood, ce 5 Mai, 1821,
à 6 h. du soir.

Monsieur le Gouverneur,

L'Empereur Napoléon est mort aujourd'hui, cinq Mai, mil huit cent vingt-un, à six heures moins dix minutes, à la suite d'une longue et pénible maladie. J'ai l'honneur de vous en faire part. Il m'a autorisé à vous communiquer, si vous le désirez, ses dernières volontés.

Je vous prie de me faire savoir quelles sont les dispositions prescrites par votre Gouvernement pour le transport de son corps en Europe, ainsi que celles relatives aux personnes de sa suite.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Gouverneur,
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
Le Comte de Montholon.

No. 174.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, May 6, 1821.

It falls to my duty to inform your Lordship that Napoleon Bonaparte expired at about ten minutes before six o'clock in the evening of the 5th May, 1821, after an illness which had confined him to his apartments since the 17th March last. He was attended during the early part of his indisposition, from the 17th to the 31st March, by his own medical assistant, Professor Antommarchi, alone. During the latter period, from the 1st April to the 5th May, 1821, he received the daily visits of Dr. Arnott, of his Majesty's 20th regiment, generally in conjunction with Professor Antommarchi.

Dr. Shortt, Physician to the Forces, and Dr. Mitchell, principal medical officer of the Royal Navy on this station, whose services, as well as those of any other medical persons on the island, had been offered, were called upon in consultation by Professor Antommarchi on the 3rd of May, but they had not any opportunity afforded to them of seeing the patient.

Dr. Arnott was with him at the moment of his decease,

and saw him expire. Captain Crokat, of his Majesty's 20th regiment, orderly officer in attendance, and Drs. Shortt and Mitchell, saw the body immediately afterwards. Dr. Arnott remained with the body during the night.

Early this morning, at about seven o'clock, I proceeded to the apartment in which the body lay, accompanied by his Excellency Rear-Admiral Lambert, naval Commander-in-Chief on this station; the Marquis de Montchenu, Commissioner of his Majesty the King of France, charged with the same duty also on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria; Brigadier-General Coffin, second in command of the troops; Thomas H. Brooke and Thomas Greentree, Esqs., Members of Council in the Government of this island; and Captains Browne, Hendry, and Marryatt of the Royal Navy. After viewing the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, which lay with the face uncovered, we retired.

An opportunity was afterwards afforded, with the concurrence of the persons who had composed the family of Napoleon Bonaparte, to as many officers as were desirous, naval and military, to the Honourable the East India Company's officers and civil servants, and to various other individuals resident here, to enter the room in which the body lay, and to view it. At two o'clock this day the body was opened in the presence of the following medical gentlemen: Dr. Shortt, M.D.; Dr. Mitchell, M.D.; Dr. Burton, M.D., of his Majesty's 66th regiment; and Matthew Livingstone, Esq., surgeon in the East India Company's service. Professor Antommarchi assisted at the dissection. General Bertrand and Count Montholon were present.

After a careful examination of the several internal parts of the body, the whole of the medical gentlemen present concurred in a report on their appearance. This report is enclosed. I shall cause the body to be interred, with the honours due to a general officer of the highest rank.

I have intrusted this despatch to Captain Crokat, of his Majesty's 20th regiment, who was the orderly officer in attendance upon the person of Napoleon Bonaparte at the time of his decease. He embarks on board his Majesty's sloop Heron, which Rear-Admiral Lambert has detached from the squadron under his command, with the intelligence. I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 175.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir,. Downing Street, London, July 10, 1821.

I have received and laid before the King your despatches, of the dates and numbers specified in the margin, in which you communicate the intelligence of General Buonaparte's death, and the arrangements made by you both previously and subsequently to that event.

I am happy to assure you that your conduct, as detailed in those despatches, has received his Majesty's approbation. It is most satisfactory to his Majesty to observe that no measures were omitted by you for the purpose of placing at General Bonaparte's disposal the best medical advice, and of affording every relief and alleviation of his sufferings, during the latter period of his life, of which his state admitted. After the discussions which have taken place between yourself and General Buonaparte's attendants, it is no inconsiderable gratification to observe that, if your offers of service and assistance were latterly declined, the refusal to accept them seems to have arisen, not from any unwillingness on the part of General Buonaparte to do justice to your motives, but from the satisfaction which he expressed himself to feel in the talents and conduct of the medical officers who had been already selected to attend upon him.

His Majesty has further commanded me to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat that general approbation of your conduct during the time that you have administered the Government of St. Helena, which I have, on particular occasions, had so often the pleasure of conveying. Placed as you have been in a situation which must, under any circumstances, have been one of heavy responsibility, but which particular events contributed to render yet more difficult and invidious, you discharged your arduous trust with strict fidelity, discretion, and humanity, and have effectually reconciled the two main duties of your command,—combining the secure detention of General Buonaparte's person, which was of necessity the paramount object of your attention, with every practicable consideration

and indulgence which your own disposition prompted and your instructions authorised you to show to his peculiar situation.

I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 176.

OPINION of the SOLICITOR-GENERAL and MR. TINDAL as to the course to be pursued by SIR HUDSON LOWE with reference to O'Meara's book, 'Napoleon in Exile; or, a Voice from St. Helena.'

1st. We are of opinion, that, in case any prosecution shall be instituted against Mr. O'Meara on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, those passages should be selected from the work which not only appear to be of the most abusive and malignant character, but which can also be shown to be false.

If, therefore, there are any observations put into the mouth of Bonaparte which can by any evidence be shown not to have been made by him; or if there are any direct attacks upon the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, not purporting to be the words of Bonaparte, which can be shown to be founded in falsehood, we recommend such passages to be singled out; and that, of those which come within either of the foregoing descriptions, the most malignant and offensive should be brought forward.

2nd. We think the only course to be taken by Sir Hudson Lowe, if any is taken, should be by moving the Court of King's Bench for a criminal information. This mode will give Sir Hudson the opportunity of denying upon oath the truth of the imputations conveyed by the several parts of the work which are set forth. And if a due selection is made, upon the principle above laid down, we think the defendant will not be hardy enough to put in an affidavit asserting the truth of the charges contained in the libel, or that the speeches imputed to Bonaparte were really made by him; and even if Mr. O'Meara should file such affidavit, we think the Court would, nevertheless, grant the information. For it is no justification for his publication that Bonaparte uttered that which forms a libel upon Sir Hudson Lowe. But the point to which our most anxious attention has been turned is, as to the probable result of a trial upon the information before a jury. For it is a very

different question whether a writing is a libel in contemplation of law, or whether, under all the circumstances attending its publication, there is a ground to expect a jury to convict. In the present case, it will be strongly pressed upon the jury that the publication of all that relates to the history of Bonaparte's latter days is matter of public right; and if the right to publish a free and full account of what he did and what he said is denied, there is an end of the freedom and impartiality of history. And we are of opinion, that the jury will in all probability yield to that suggestion, and will refuse to find the defendant guilty of a libel, unless the prosecutor can show that the speeches attributed to Bonaparte were not really his, but that they were falsely put into his mouth, as a cover for the defendant's malignity. In this particular case, therefore, the falsehood of the charge contained in the libel, although immaterial in contemplation of law to constitute a libel in ordinary cases, becomes material to prove the libellous intention of the defendant. And this consideration at once accounts for the principle of selection of parts of the libel above laid down, and for the opinion which we now give, that it is inexpedient in the present case to commence any prosecution, unless such evidence can be given.

3rdly. We think the proceedings, if any, should be against the author, if the publisher is willing to come forward to prove his employment by the author; but otherwise against the publisher. The evidence, besides that of the publication, will be such as we have before particularly commented on, and any evidence that can be added of direct malice on the part of the defendant against the prosecutor.

J. S. Copley,
N. C. Tindal.

November 21, 1822.

No. 177.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Dear Sir, 42, Woburn Place, January 21, 1823.

You may perhaps recollect that, when I commanded the Honourable Company's ship Aurora, and called at St. Helena on my way from China to England, that I had presents for the

ex-Emperor Napoleon; in allusion to which I was surprised to observe, a few days ago, on perusal of Mr. O'Meara's work entitled 'Napoleon in Exile,' in page 118, 2nd volume, the following passage:—

"Captain Haviside, who had brought them from China, on having obtained permission to visit Longwood soon after his arrival, was ordered by the Governor to maintain strict silence on the subject to all the French."

I trust you will do me the honour to believe that I am not the author of this misrepresentation, and allow me to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my thanks for your kind attention during my visits to St. Helena; and also to state that I had no difficulty in landing the presents, and that every facility was given me by Sir Thomas Reade to visit Napoleon, for which purpose I went to Longwood, intending to report to the ex-Emperor the various valuables I had brought from Mr. Elphinstone for him. On paying my respects to Madame and Count Bertrand, who received me very graciously, and with whom I conversed some time on the subject of the presents, I learned that Napoleon was too unwell to see any one that day; and my immediate departure from the island was the only reason that I had not afterwards that gratification.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

THOMAS HAVISIDE.

No. 178.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE.'

Sir, 30, Craven Street, March 3, 1823.

Mr. O'Meara has published a letter in the 'Morning Chronicle,' in which my name is introduced, with those of Lord Melville and Mr. Croker, in a way which renders it necessary that I should lose no time in stating the facts as they really occurred.

Mr. O'Meara having long been an acquaintance of mine, we kept up an occasional correspondence, and in the month of July, 1815, I received a private letter from him, giving several particulars relative to Bonaparte and his suite. Some expres-

sions in this letter led me to doubt the propriety of entertaining a correspondence of the nature offered to me by Mr. O'Meara without the authority of my official superiors; I therefore thought proper to communicate the letter to Mr. Croker, who declined authorising such a correspondence without consulting Lord Melville. His Lordship, on being referred to, said that he saw no reasons why I should not receive the letters which Mr. O'Meara might choose to write to me, and that it might even be advantageous to hear from an impartial and near observer the situation of Bonaparte and his suite. But, in order that no duplicity should be practised on Mr. O'Meara, I was desired to apprize him that his letters would be seen by the Ministers. I presume that Mr. O'Meara could not have received this answer from me before he wrote again a letter in the same style as the first, but soliciting my friendship towards getting him confirmed in the situation of surgeon to Bonaparte, and stating as an inducement for my doing so the following reason:—"It is my intention to collect every anecdote I can from Napoleon and those about him; and perhaps my being near him might not be of disservice to Government, especially if he entertained thoughts of escape; at least my being constantly near him would probably lead to a discovery of any plans he might hereafter project."

I quote this passage to show that I was not authorised to *originate* any proposal to Mr. O'Meara to give intelligence relative to Bonaparte, and did not in fact do so, but that the proposition came voluntarily from him.

When I received Mr. O'Meara's letters I handed them to Mr. Croker, who had them copied for the perusal of Ministers, with the omission only of some occasional passages of an indelicate nature (some of them reflecting on the French ladies and others), at which Mr. Croker expressed to me his disapprobation, and refused to permit any such passages to be copied.

It is right to add that there were several of those letters, particularly towards the last, which Mr. Croker did not see, owing to his occasional absence. Some of them also I myself never read; but the greatest part, if not the whole, of this correspondence is preserved, and may be referred to if necessary.

Mr. O'Meara having stated in the latter part of his letter that I offered him the lucrative situation of surgeon to Green-

wich Hospital, I beg leave to state, in the most distinct manner, that I never was authorised to make any such proposition, and that, therefore, it is but fair to presume that I never could have done so.

I think it only my duty to Lord Melville and Mr. Croker to state that neither of them ever saw any of my letters to Mr. O'Meara, and that they therefore cannot be responsible for my expressions. Mr. O'Meara must be aware that I was not in the situation of being an "amanuensis" to either of them. No doubt I should have paid more attention to my language if I could have foreseen that notes thus written in the confidence of private friendship were to be published without my consent.

I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

JOHN FINLAISON.

GENERAL STATEMENT of the Service of LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B., drawn up by himself in a Memorial to the EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

RANK.	In what Corps.	Date of Appointment.	Where employed, specifying the period of each Service, the names of any Siege, Battle, or considerable Action, where personally present.
Ensign.	50th Regt.	Sept. 25, 1787.	On garrison duty at Gibraltar.
Lieutenant.	50th Regt.	Nov. 11, 1791.	On garrison duty at Gibraltar until the war broke out in 1793, when embarked for Toulon; proceeded to Corsica; present at the attack of the Martello Tower, storming of Convention Redoubt, surrender of St. Fiorenzo, siege of Bastia; attack of the Moselle Fort, siege of Calvi; on garrison duty at Ajaccio.
Captain.	50th Regt.	Sept. 25, 1795.	Evacuation of Corsica; Elba; appointed Deputy Judge Advocate to the army; evacuation of Elba; proceeded to Portugal to join the army under General Sir Charles Stuart; remained in Portugal until the year 1799; embarked for Minorca; appointed to take charge of a corps of Corsicans then raising there; mutinies and disturbances quelled amongst them; appointed inspector of foreign corps.
Major.	Corsican Rangers.	July 1, 1800.	Corps selected to proceed on the expedition to Egypt under General Sir Ralph Abercromby, attached to the reserve under Sir John Moore; commanded the corps at the landing on the 8th March; attacked by and repulsed a superior body of the French cavalry at the outposts on the 10th March; advance of the 12th March; battles of the 13th and 21st March; with the advance of the army on the march to Cairo; affair of Rahmanie; assisted in the capture of a detachment of French cavalry, and in the attack and capture of a French caravan in the Desert; outposts before Cairo; received the first proposals for its surrender; commanded the rear-guard of the escort to the French army on its march to Rosetta; outposts before Alexandria; present at the advances against and surrender of that fortress; returned to Malta; corps reduced at the Peace of Amiens; confirmed as Major Commandant of it from 1st July, 1800; half-pay; appointed Major Royal Fusileers; resigned this appointment on being named one of the permanent Assistants Quartermaster-General; head of the department in the western district; selected by Government in July, 1803, to proceed on a secret mission to Portugal; inspected the troops and fortresses along the whole of the northern and north-east frontier, and reported the practicability of defending the country by united British and Portuguese means.
	7th, or Royal Fusileers.		
Lieutenant-Colonel.	Royal Corsican Rangers.	Dec. 31, 1803.	Employed to raise the regiment of Royal Corsican Rangers, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of it on a secret mission in Sardinia, and reported on the state of that island, by which a subsidy was saved; embarked with the expedition to Naples, under General Sir James Craig; commanded the advance of his army; returned to Sicily; ordered

RANK.	In what Corps.	Date of Appointment.	Where employed, specifying the period of each Service, the names of any Siege, Battle, or considerable Action, where personally present.
			with his regiment to the island of Capri; joined by the regiment of Malta; attacked by a French naval and military expedition from Naples; the regiment of Malta made prisoners, when, after a resistance of thirteen days, the walls of the town being breached and guns dismounted, evacuated the island by a convention with the French General, carrying off the whole of the garrison, with their arms and baggage; appointed to command the first line of the advance of the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart to the Bay of Naples; landing at Ischia, drove the enemy from the town, and covered the besieging batteries; made the capitulation with the French General, by which the garrison was forced to surrender as prisoners of war; returned to Sicily; appointed second in command on the expedition to the Ionian Islands: conducted the landing at Zante; attack of the castle; made the capitulation by which the French garrison was compelled to surrender as prisoners of war.
Lieutenant-Colonel.	Royal Corsican Rangers.	Dec. 31, 1803.	Landing at Cephalonia; appointed Commandant and Chief of the Civil Government of that island, together with Ithaca; framed the Provisional Government for them; expedition to the island of St. Maura, under Major-General Sir John Oswald; expelled the enemy from the town; conducted an advance against his rear, under the fire of the fortress, by which, conjointly with an attack on the other side, he was forced to retire from all his advanced works and positions; siege of the fortress; framed the capitulation with the French General who commanded, and who was compelled to surrender, with the whole of his garrison, as prisoners of war; thanked three times in the public despatches.
Lieutenant-Colonel.	Royal Corsican Rangers.	Dec. 31, 1803.	Appointed Commander of the left division of the fo[illegible] the Ionian Islands, and Chief of the Civil Governmen[illegible] island of St. Maura, in conjunction with Cephalo[illegible] Ithaca; framed the Provisional Government of t[illegible] islands; presented a Memoir on the islands generall[illegible] Colonial Department.
Colonel.	. .	January 1, 1812.	Obtained leave of absence to come to England; sel[illegible] in the beginning of 1813 to proceed on a secret mission to t[illegible] north of Europe; went to Sweden and Russia; joined the Emperor of Russia's head-quarters at Kalish, in Poland; ordered to inspect the Russian-German Legion then taken into British pay; returned to the Imperial head-quarters; present at the battles of *Bautzen* and *Wurschen;* with the Russian army until the armistice of June, 1813; appointed to inspect the whole of the Hanoverian and German forces in British pay in the north of Europe; proceeded afterwards to join Lieut.-General Lord Stewart at the head-quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden; attached by him to the Russian and Prussian army under the command of Field-Marshal Blücher; present with the Field-Marshal at the battle of *Möckern;* at the battle of *Leipsic;* at the assault of the town and at the pursuit of the French army to the Rhine; returned to inspect the German and Hanoverian troops; called upon to accompany Field-Marshal Blücher's army

RANK.	In what Corps.	Date of Appointment.	Where employed, specifying the period of each Service, the names of any Siege, Battle, or considerable Action, where personally present.
			during the campaign in France; joined it at *Vaucouleurs;* battle of *Brienne le Château;* of *La Rothière;* of *Champaubert;* affair of the *Bridge of Méry;* passage of the *Marne;* battle of *Craone;* of *Laon;* passage of the *Aisne;* battle of *Fère Champenoise;* battle and capture of *Paris;* reported to the British Government during the whole of the above operations; knighted on his return to England; the Russian Order of St. George, and the Prussian Order of Merit, conferred on him; appointed afterwards a Knight Commander of the Bath.
Major-General.		June 4, 1814.	Appointed Quartermaster-General to the army in the Low Countries; on Bonaparte's escape from Elba, arranged a plan of co-operation with the Prussian army, by which the Commander of it agreed to march to the defence of Belgium; selected to command an expedition, in conjunction with Admiral Lord Exmouth, on the south coast of France; took possession of the city of Marseilles; received the Prince Regent's thanks through the Secretary of State for this service; marched against Toulon; in conjunction with the Royalists compelled the fortress to hoist the white flag, and to expel the French Marshal Brune, with the greater part of the troops that Bonaparte had placed in garrison there; appointed Governor of St. Helena, with the charge of General Bonaparte's person; had the local rank of Lieutenant-General conferred upon him.
Lieutenant-General with local rank.		1815.	

Sir Hudson Lowe received the Egyptian Medal and Grand Cross of the Red Eagle of Prussia. He was also a Knight of the Military Order of Merit of Prussia; and of St. [illegible]rge of Russia, 4th class; a K.C.B., and G.C.M.G.

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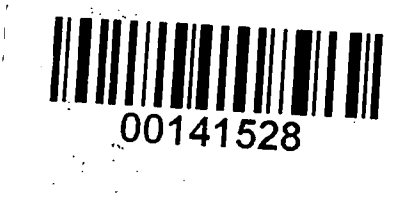
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